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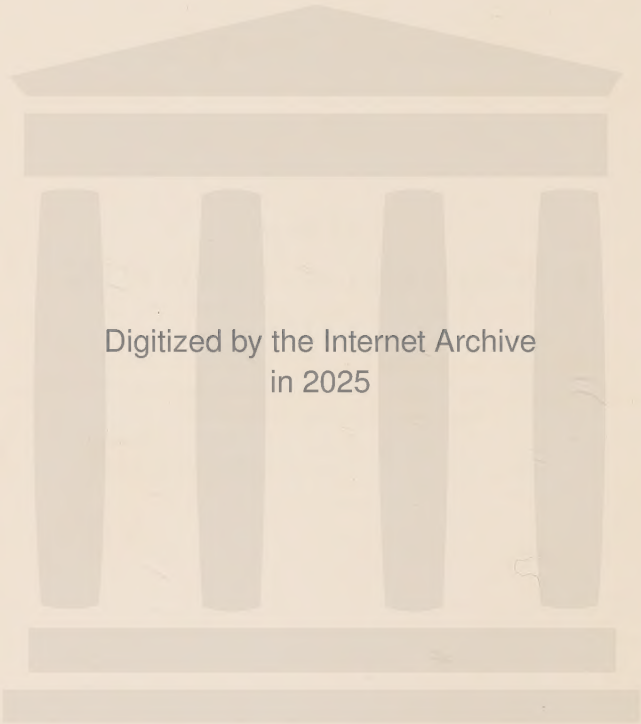
THE FUNDAMENTAL CHRISTIAN FAITH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THE FUNDAMENTAL CHRISTIAN FAITH

THE ORIGIN, HISTORY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE APOSTLES' AND NICENE CREEDS

BY

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To

MY DEAR FRIEND

MISS EMILY OGDEN BUTLER

FAITHFUL DAUGHTER

OF AN HONORED FATHER

47711

PREFACE

For some years the author has been engaged in teaching Symbolics in the Union Theological Seminary. He has made a careful study of all the Symbols of the Christian Church by the use of the best methods of Historical Criticism and Interpretation. There are several theological tendencies in these times. There is the reactionary tendency, which still insists upon the whole doctrine of the Confessions of Faith of the seventeenth century, at the cost of the perpetuation of theological warfare within the Church as well as without. There is the radical tendency, which would do away with all credal statements, and construct an eclectic, syncretistic theology out of a comparative study of all Religions and in the form of recent undigested philosophical speculations. These would give us a merely speculative theology, with no other authority to sustain it than the private opinions of this or that writer or his school of thought, and so set us adrift on a sea of boundless speculation. There is also the wholesome Irenic tendency which seeks to reunite the separated Churches on the basis of the fundamental principles of Historical Christianity, without intruding upon denominational preferences, or private opinion in other matters. These principles of Faith are to be found in the ancient

Creeds, the official expression of the Faith of the ancient Church, to which all Churches, which are legitimate descendants of Historical Christianity, adhere. I have endeavored in this volume to give an account of the origin and history of these Creeds in the light of Historical Criticism, and to explain them in accordance with scientific principles of interpretation in the light of the Holy Scriptures upon which they are based, and of the writings of the Christian Fathers of the time of their composition.

We must apply the same principles of Criticism and Interpretation to the Creeds as to the Holy Scriptures. We cannot tolerate in the one case, any more than in the other, misinterpretation in the interests of any modern theories whatever. These Creeds have their historic meaning which we must either accept or reject. We cannot honestly accept them in form and reject them in substance.

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THE FUNDAMENTAL CHRISTIAN FAITH

THE
FUNDAMENTAL CHRISTIAN FAITH

The Christian Faith is essentially faith in Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour.

This Faith was preached by the Twelve Apostles chosen by Jesus Himself, and trained by Him for the purpose. They were specially commissioned by Jesus several times during His ministry on earth and after His resurrection, to make disciples of all nations, to teach the commands of their Lord, to baptize into His name, to celebrate the Eucharist of His body and blood, and to organize His Church for the perpetuation and propagation of the Christian Faith, and the maintenance of "unity and concord." [1]

The Apostles and their associates were endowed by the Holy Spirit with charisms suited to their commission both by external theophanic manifestation on the day of Pentecost, and subsequently by His internal presence and guidance. They immediately acted, in the terms of their commission, under the guidance of the divine Spirit, in the organization of the Church and its institutions, and in the teaching and preaching of the Christian Faith.

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Apostolic Commission*, in *Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve*, 1902.

St. Paul, the highly educated and gifted Jewish rabbi and zealous persecutor of Christians, was converted by the christophany on the journey to Damascus into a Christian scholar and ardent missionary of the Gospel; and by our Lord's own special appointment, as well as that of the church at Antioch, commissioned as the apostle to the Gentiles. Other apostles, evangelists, and teachers were ordained by the Apostles to share in their ministry.

The primitive disciples received their Faith from the oral teaching of the Apostles and their associates, confirmed by miracles and manifestations of the divine Spirit, both objective and subjective. They were as Jews already instructed in the Old Testament Scriptures, which became to Christians as to Jews a divinely inspired and authoritative Canon.

In the latter half of the first century, written instruction was added to the oral, at first in the epistles of St. Paul and other teachers, then in the Gospels and other writings of the New Testament. Many of these passed through several revisions at the hands of the Apostles and their pupils. Gradually those writings that were apostolic and divinely inspired were eliminated from others and collected as the Canon of the New Testament; the Gospels before the middle of the second century, the Epistles before the close of that century.[1]

The Church held to the apostolic teaching as the norm of Faith and Life, whether recorded in the Canon of the Old and New Testaments, or attested

[1] Briggs, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 134.

by the consensus of the churches established by the Apostles. Out of this tradition there gradually emerged a rule of Faith, a symbol or Creed, which was required of candidates for Christian baptism. This was based upon the Baptismal formula, and the Symbol of the Fish, which latter represented to primitive Christians the essential element of their Faith, *Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour.* This Rule of Faith was, therefore, essentially the same in all Christian churches throughout the world, though differing to some extent in the number of articles and in phraseology. This Baptismal Faith eventually became fixed in the form known as the Apostles' Creed, which may first be detected as the Roman Creed of the middle of the second century.

In the third century there was a great conflict of opinion as to the divinity of Jesus Christ and the Holy Trinity; and therefore the Church had to define the Christian Faith over against heresies which arose with respect to these doctrines. The Council of Nicæa (325) adopted the Nicene Creed for this purpose, which at once became the Eucharistic Symbol throughout the Christian world. It was subsequently enlarged by taking up into itself the Eastern form of the Apostles' Creed, and so superseded it in the East as a baptismal symbol also. This Creed was regarded as a sufficient statement of the Christian Faith by the early Church; and is still so regarded by the Greek and Anglican Churches, if rightly interpreted in accordance with the New Testament and apostolic tradition. But its statements, as those

of all human documents, were capable of various other interpretations than the normal ones. Accordingly, when these erroneous interpretations arose in the form of serious heresies, it became necessary for the Church to rule out these heresies and to give the official, historical interpretation of the Apostolic Faith by œcumenical councils assembled for the purpose, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries.

Another Creed was composed by some unknown author, probably of the School of Lerins in Gaul in the fifth century. Though private in its origin, it won its way to official acceptance, and was ranked with the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed during the Middle Ages in the West, and by the three great Churches of the Reformation as well as the Roman Church, as a third authoritative symbol. It adds nothing to the Faith of the Church, but puts it in a more dogmatic and Western form. It never received recognition in the East, not because of any objection to its doctrines, but because the East had no part in its composition, and it never gained any circulation there. There is no reason therefore to doubt its œcumenical character, if not in formal acknowledgment, at least in doctrinal consensus.

These three Creeds, as officially interpreted by ancient œcumenical councils, constitute the fundamental Christian Faith. They express officially the Faith of the Church in that stage of the development of its definitions which had been reached at the time they were composed. They cover the seven fundamental centuries of the Christian Church, during which

the Church suffered its severest trials and gained its greatest victories. These centuries constituted the heroic age of Christianity, the age of the Fathers of the Church; and therefore the Faith of that age, as expressed in its official Creeds, must always command more respect and authority than the Faith of any other centuries.

These Creeds are in three stages of development, separated by considerable intervals. The Apostles' Creed, in the earliest form known to us, dates half a century after the death of those who had seen and known Jesus, and during the lifetime of some who had known the Apostles; and it is based on baptismal Creeds earlier still. The Nicene Creed appeared less than two centuries later; but the interval is filled up by numerous local creeds of the principal churches of Christendom. The Athanasian Creed represents a century later, when the Faith of the Church had become fixed by three great œcumenical councils, and put in more dogmatic forms, especially by Augustine in the Western Church. The interpretations of the Nicene Creed by œcumenical councils extends through the sixth and seventh centuries.

These Creeds are all essentially Christological in character; they express the personal convictions and religious experiences of Christians in their relation to Jesus Christ their Saviour. They express what these Christians regarded as the essentials of their Christian experience, that which they must hold as their faith in life and death for their salvation. This is stated in bold and rigid forms in the Athanasian

Creed, but it is implied in the other Creeds. For no one could be baptized and partake of the Christian sacrament without the public expression of faith, in terms of these Creeds. The Nicene Creed, as issued from the Nicene Council, had attached to it an *anathema* on all who pretended to be Christians and yet did not have this Faith.

These early Christians did not think that they were making any new doctrines; they sincerely believed and were firmly assured that they were simply expressing the essential teachings of Jesus Christ and of His Apostles. The development in these Creeds was in form and fulness of statement, not in substance of doctrine. That indeed is what the Christian Church in all its branches has ever held and now holds: that the Confession of Faith is simply the setting forth in appropriate and timely forms of the teaching of Jesus Christ and His Apostles—that sacred deposit of teaching which cannot be increased or diminished, but which may only be interpreted and explained. The only development that is valid is the logical unfolding of its meaning and the practical application of its precepts.

There is, indeed, a difference of attitude to these Creeds in the different denominations of Christians. The Roman Catholics regard the Church as the infallible interpreter of Scripture; and therefore these Creeds of the Church are in themselves infallible and their authority cannot be questioned. The Protestant Churches recognize no infallibility save in Holy Scripture. They claim that the Church may

err, and often has erred in its decisions. Nevertheless, all the great Churches of the Reformation regard these three Creeds as valid interpretations of Holy Scripture: the Lutheran, in the Augsburg Confession (Art. 1) and Formula of Concord (Epitome 2); the Reformed, in the Gallican Confession (Art. 5); the Anglican, in the Articles of Religion (Art. 8). So the separating denominations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries regarded the statements of these Creeds as valid, and took them up into their own denominational Confessions, and maintained the Christology of these Creeds as the orthodox doctrine of the Church. There was no dissent from this position except among a few Unitarians and Socinians.[1]

PART I

THE APOSTLES' CREED

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The Apostles' Creed may be traced to the middle of the second century by distinct references to it in Irenæus and Tertullian. It seems then to have had a definite form, although no official copy or exact reproduction has been preserved.

The reason why the Apostles' Creed does not appear in primitive Christian Literature is supposed to be because of the necessity that the Church was under, in times of persecution, of keeping her essential institutions secret. The Creed as a symbol used in the ceremony of baptism, would thus be kept secret. The only references to it, that we could expect, would be to its statements of Faith; and these not in such a form as to give the exact formula.

We have also to bear in mind that the early writers were more concerned with the meaning, and less with the exact words, than seems proper in our times of accurate quotation.

Nevertheless, there seem to be phrases of the Creed so fixed in usage as to imply that they were well-known forms of words. As St. Augustine tells us:

"The Catholic Faith in the Creed is known to the faithful, and is committed to memory by them in as few words as the matter admits." It was natural, therefore, that the memory of Christian writers would yield these words in preference to any others when treating of the doctrines of the Creed. So it seems probable that about the middle of the second century, in Rome, the Creed was revised into the form which underlies the statements of the writers of the second and third centuries. Many attempts have been made to ascertain the exact form of the Creed of the second century on the basis of references to it, especially in Irenæus and Tertullian. There are some differences of opinion as to details, but general agreement as to most articles. There are three references to it in Irenæus, and three in Tertullian, as follows:

Irenæus, in his great work against Heresies, written not later than 189 A. D., gives us no less than three forms of the Christian Faith:

First Form. (*Adv. Hær.* I, 10, § 1.)

> "The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith: [She believes] in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and the seas, and all things that are in them; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who proclaimed through the prophets the dispensations, and the advents, and the birth from a virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension into heaven in the flesh of the beloved Christ Jesus, our Lord, and His *parousia* from heaven in the glory of the Father 'to sum up all things in one,' and to raise up anew all flesh of the whole human

race, in order that to Christ Jesus, our Lord and God, and Saviour, and King, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, 'every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess' to Him, and that He should execute just judgment toward all; that He may send 'spiritual powers of wickedness' and the angels who transgressed and became apostates, together with the ungodly, and unrighteous, and wicked, and profane among men, into everlasting fire; but may, in the exercise of His grace, confer life and immortality on the righteous, and holy, and those who have kept His commandments, and have persevered in His love, some from the beginning [of their Christian course], and others from [the date of] their repentance, and may surround them with everlasting glory."

Irenæus states that this is the unalterable truth, proclaimed by the Church throughout the world, which it has received from the Apostles. And in Chapter IX, when he speaks of *retaining unchangeable in the heart the rule of truth which had been received by means of baptism*, his words imply that it is the same rule as that which he gives in Chapter X, held unchangeable in the memory, and not recorded in writing; as we say, *committed to heart.*

Irenæus mentions the Churches of Germany, Spain, Gaul, the East, Egypt, and Libya, as well as Rome. In fact Irenæus was bishop of Lyons, in Gaul. He made an official visit to Rome in 177–8, as a priest representing the Church of Gaul. He was born 135–142, and trained in Asia Minor. He had listened in his youth to the martyr bishop of Smyrna, Polycarp, the disciple of John the Apostle; and he frequently refers to the elders who had heard the Apostles of our Lord. As a Christian from his youth, intimately acquainted with Asia, and Gaul, and Rome, he could

hardly have been mistaken in his statement of the Christian Faith, in which there was agreement throughout the world. He knew the immediate disciples of the Apostles, and received his Christianity from the second generation, belonging himself to the third.

Second Form. (*Adv. Hær.*, lib. III, cap. 4, § 1, 2.)

> "If the Apostles had not left to us the Scriptures, would it not be necessary to follow the order of tradition, which those to whom they committed the churches handed down? To this order many nations of barbarians give assent, those who believe in Christ having salvation written in their hearts by the Spirit without paper and ink, and guarding diligently the ancient tradition, believing in One God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and all that in them is, through Christ Jesus the Son of God; who, for His astounding love toward His creatures, sustained the birth of the Virgin, Himself uniting His manhood to God, and suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, and was received in glory, shall come in glory, the Saviour of those who are saved, and the Judge of those who are judged; and sending into eternal fire the perverters of the truth and the despisers of His Father and His advent."

Third Form. (*Adv. Hær.*, lib. IV, cap. 33, § 7.)

> "[The spiritual man] has a full faith in one God Almighty, from whom are all things; and in the Son of God, Jesus Christ, our Lord, by whom are all things, and in His dispensations, through which the Son of God became man; the firm persuasion also in the Spirit of God, who furnishes us with a knowledge of the truth, and has set forth the dispensations of the Father and the Son, in virtue of which He dwells in every generation of men, according to the will of the Father."

Tertullian also gives three credal forms.

First Form. (*De Virginibus Velandis*, cap. 1, written 204–8.)

"The Rule of Faith is altogether one, sole, immovable, and irreformable—namely, to believe in one God Almighty, the Maker of the world; and His Son, Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, on the third day raised again from the dead, received in the heavens, sitting now at the right hand of the Father, coming to judge the quick and the dead, also through the resurrection of the flesh."

Second Form. (*Adv. Praxean*, cap. 2, written 213–18.)

"But we believe always, and now more, being better instructed by the Paraclete, the Leader into all truth, One God: but under this dispensation which we call economy, and the Son of the One God, His Word [Logos] who proceeded from Him, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made. This was sent from the Father into the Virgin, and was born of her, both man and God, the Son of Man and the Son of God, and called Jesus Christ: He suffered, he died and was buried, according to the Scriptures; and raised again by the Father, and taken up into the heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; He shall come to judge the quick and the dead: He thence did send, according to His promise, from the Father, the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, the Sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost."

Third Form. (*De Præscript. Hæret.*, cap. 13, written c. 198.)

"The Rule of Faith is, . . . namely, that by which we believe that there is but one God, and no other besides the Maker of the world, who produced the universe out of nothing, by His Word sent forth first of all; that this Word, called His Son, was seen in the name of God in various ways by the patriarchs, was always heard in the prophets, at last was sent down, from the Spirit and power of God the Father, into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and born of her, lived [appeared] as Jesus Christ; that then He preached the new Law and the new promise of the kingdom of heaven; wrought miracles; was nailed to the cross; rose

> again on the third day; was caught up to the heavens; and sat down at the right hand of the Father; sent in His place the power of the Holy Ghost, to guide the believers: He will come again with glory to take the saints into the enjoyment of eternal life and the celestial promises, and to judge the wicked with eternal fire, after the resuscitation [resurrection] of both, with the restitution [restoration] of the flesh."

The primitive usage as to baptism required a special preparation, which consisted in committing to memory the Christian Creed and receiving instruction upon its articles.

Augustine tells us:

> "The Catholic Faith in the Creed is known to the faithful, and is committed to memory by them in as few words as the matter admits, in order that to beginners and babes, those, namely, who have been born anew in Christ, but are not yet strengthened and established by the diligent and spiritual handling and knowledge of the divine Scriptures, that should be laid down to be believed in few words, which, to those who are advancing and rising toward the acquisition of divine learning by the sure strength of humility and charity, will have to be explained in many words" (*De fide et symbolo*).

The candidates were called "catechumens" until they had been prepared by baptism, then, in Latin, *competentes*, and in Greek, φωτιζόμενοι. The lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem to candidates for baptism confirm this for the East, and Augustine does for the West. There is no good reason to doubt that this usage was primitive, the only difference being in the exact words of the Creed that were used. At the time of baptism the candidates renounced the devil, his pomp and his works—that is to say, all that was

characteristic of Paganism—and declared their faith in terms of the Creed.[1]

They were asked thrice: *Dost thou believe* (1) *in God the Father Almighty?* (2) *in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord?* and the several clauses with reference to the salvation wrought by Christ; (3) *in the Holy Spirit?* and the remaining clauses of the Creed. Thrice they replied: *Credo.*

The division of the Creed into three parts was original; that into twelve sections somewhat later, but certainly not later than the middle of the second century. The division by the names of the Trinity corresponds with the formula of baptism according to Mt. 28^{19}: *baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.* This formula, it is true, is not in the exact words of Jesus to the Twelve; for the parallelism and measure of the logion and the usage of the Apostolic Church show that baptism was originally into *my name: into the name of Jesus Christ*, Acts 2^{38}, 10^{48}; *the name of the Lord Jesus*, Acts 8^{16}, 19^{5}; *into Christ Jesus*, Rom. 6^{3}; *into Christ*, Gal. 3^{27}; *into the name of the Lord*, *Didache*, 11, Hermas, *Vis.*, III, 7; *the name of the Son of God*, Hermas, *Sim.*, IX, 13. But the *Didache*, 7, gives the Triune formula based on St. Matthew, which throws it back into the first century; and there is no reason to doubt that it was original in our Gospel of Matthew, and that it represents Christian usage of the last quarter of the first century.[2]

[1] *V.* Duchesne, *Historie ancienne de l'Eglise*, I, p. 505.

[2] Briggs, *Apostolic Commission*, in *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, pp. 1–18.

The two formulas existed side by side through the second century. The shorter one was defended as valid by St. Ambrose, St. Thomas Aquinas, and other fathers and doctors of the Church, and has always been so recognized.

> Dr. McGiffert thinks that the Roman form is based on usage later than the baptismal formula of Matthew and the *Didache*. He says (*The Apostles' Creed*, p. 182): "The collocation 'God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit' is much commoner in the literature of the late first and early second centuries than 'Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.'" But such usage, even if true, does not determine the usage of the Creed. It depends on what terms in the Creed one regards as most essential. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are all three in their proper order; only they are enlarged, *the Father* to *God, the Father Almighty*, and *the Son* to *Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord*. *The Holy Spirit* alone remains unqualified. The argument therefore has no force except so far as the term *Father* of the Creed is interpreted in the sense of Creator, rather than as Father of the Son. But this interpretation, as I shall show later on, is incorrect.

It is evident from the statements of the New Testament that a confession, or profession, of Faith was necessary in order to baptism.

The primitive Christian confession was: "I believe that Jesus is the Lord, the Messiah, the Son of God," using either one, or two, or all three of these terms. The primitive Christians were also Jews. All Jews held to the *Shema:* "Hear, O Israel: Yahweh, our God, Yahweh is one" (Dt. 6^4). The fundamental faith of Israel, the essential Creed, was the unity of God. For Jews who became Christians, that faith was presupposed; but when converts were made from among the Gentiles it was necessary that

they should confess *the Unity of God* as well as *the Messiahship of Christ.*

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit is an Old Testament doctrine. His activity is a divine activity, but there was as yet no distinction in the one God except as to attributes and modes of action. The Synoptic Gospels adhere essentially to the Old Testament conceptions. But the Gospel of John and the Epistles of Paul advance to personal distinctions between Father, Son, and Spirit. The Lord Jesus promised the Apostles, according to the Synoptics as well as John, to send the divine Spirit to guide them in their ministry.

On the Day of Pentecost the Holy Spirit descended upon them, and inaugurated their preaching by His power and charisms. St. Paul in his Epistles emphasized the gifts of the Spirit in the work of the Church.

The Holy Spirit is especially connected with baptism, John 3^{4} *seq.* Acts 19^{1-7} is instructive here:

Certain disciples of John the Baptist came to St. Paul at Ephesus. He asked them: "Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?" They replied: "Nay, we did not so much as hear whether the Holy Ghost was (given)." He then inquired: "Into what then were ye baptized?" They replied: "Into John's baptism." Paul then said: "John baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on Him which should come after him, that is, on Jesus." Then they were "baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. And

when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Spirit came on them."

This makes it evident that it was necessary to believe in the Holy Spirit, in order to Christian baptism.

Thus we have in the New Testament clear evidence as to the three constituents of the Creed:

(1) The One God, Yahweh, of the Old Testament religion.

(2) Jesus as Lord, Christ, Son of God.

(3) The Holy Spirit.

And so we may say that all candidates for baptism in apostolic times must have professed their faith in these three essential doctrines of the Christian religion. These three things constitute the *Credo*, or Creed; and all else is a development of these three elements.

The most ancient Creed known, apart from the old Roman Creed, is the short Creed of the Church of Jerusalem.

"I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, and in one baptism of repentance."[1]

This the candidate for baptism said, according to Cyril. The fourth item simply gives what was required for baptism by St. Peter on the day of Pentecost, and what has always been required: namely, repentance in order to remission of sins.

Therefore we may go back of the Creed of the second century to an original Christian Creed of the

[1] Cyril, *Cat.*, XIX, 9.

first century which was simply Trinitarian. Thus: "I believe:

I. In one God, Almighty;
II. And in Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour;
III. And in the Holy Spirit."

The first clause expresses the unity of God. Almighty = צבאות = *Sabaoth* is used instead of *Yahweh* = *Lord;* because *Lord* had now become a special title of Christ, and was seldom used for God among primitive Christians in the New Testament except in citation from the Old Testament.[1] The second clause is the phrase of the symbol of the *Fish,* ΙΧΘΥΣ = Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ, the secret symbol and token of the primitive Christians = *Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour.* The term Saviour was subsequently expanded into the six saving acts of Jesus. The third clause expresses faith in the Holy Spirit, which was subsequently expanded into the three saving acts of the divine Spirit in the organization and guidance of the Church, in the remission of sins at baptism, and in the final resurrection of the body.

Prof. McGiffert, in *The Apostles' Creed,* 1902, maintains that the Roman Creed originated at this time, like other official Creeds and Confessions, in opposition to heresy; and he interprets the various clauses of the Creed as aimed especially against the heresy of Marcion. This view, so far as I know, has found no support among writers on the Creed. Harnack (*Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur,* 1897, I, s. 532) says that the Roman Symbol was probably composed before the conflict with Marcion and the great schools of Gnosticism, c. 140.

The Creed, as Prof. McGiffert gives it, is reduced to ten

[1] Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles,* pp. 86–87.

articles by omitting the articles on the Church and the remission of sins; and so it has an abrupt and unnatural conclusion. There seems to be no clear connection between faith in *the Holy Spirit* and *the Resurrection of the flesh*. There is also in the structure of a Creed to be committed to memory some significance in historic numbers. The number *three* gives the primal trinitarian structure. There are *seven* clauses for Christ and His saving acts. We should expect *four* more clauses for the Holy Spirit, to make up the apostolic number *twelve*. We should also look for some proper mediating clauses to connect the *Holy Spirit* with the *Resurrection*, and some suggestion as to the activity of the Spirit.

The three parts of the Creed all have εἰς and the accusative, the accusatives that follow being in explanatory apposition. That cannot be said of the relation of σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν to εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον. There must therefore have been some mediating clauses such as are found in early forms of the Creed. The connection is properly mediated by the *Holy Church*, which is inhabited by the divine Spirit, according to St. Paul; and by the *Forgiveness of Sins* imparted by the divine Spirit, especially in connection with Baptism.

The term *Holy Church* is a Roman term, which appears in Hermas (*Vis.*, $1^{1,3}$), and in Ignatius; and which later passes over into the more common *Catholic Church*. It is the most natural term to follow the *Holy Spirit*, and to prepare for the two remaining clauses, because the *Holy Church* is the chief work of the Holy Spirit, both in its origination on the day of Pentecost, and as the sphere of His activity.

The *Forgiveness of sins*, though not attested by Irenæus and Tertullian, is yet attested by Cyprian: *Credo remissionem peccatorum et vitam eternam per sanctam ecclesiam;*[1] and the creed of Jerusalem: *and in one baptism of repentance.*[2]

Prof. McGiffert's argument, that the Roman Church of the second century was intolerant as regards the remission of sins after baptism, has no application, because the *remission of sins* here is the remission connected *with baptism itself*, and that was greatly emphasized by the Roman Church of the second century, as we see from the apostolic father Hermas.

[1] *Ep.* 69, 70.

[2] Cyril, *Catechetical Lectures*, XVIII, 22.

> We may therefore conclude that there were *four* articles connected with the *Credo* of the Holy Spirit, as seven with that of Christ, and one with that of God the Father.

The earliest form of the Roman Creed that has been preserved, is from the middle of the fourth century.[1] Rufinus, a priest of Aquileia, wrote a commentary on the Apostles' Creed[2] in the last quarter of the fourth century. He gives the creed of Aquileia, and compares it with the old Roman Creed. He states that candidates for baptism were required to recite it publicly, and that no alterations were allowed. The form had doubtless been fixed for some time, and it remained stereotyped in that form in Rome for nearly two centuries. A Greek form of the same Creed is given by Marcellus of Ancyra (341 or 337). This form of the fourth century is confirmed by the comments of Ambrose and Augustine, the Psalter of Æthelstan, and many other witnesses.

Many attempts have been made to distribute the twelve articles of the Creed amongst the Apostles, but they are all artificial, and they betray unoriginality by their lack of correspondence with the historical origin and proper distribution of the various clauses. The traditional belief that these articles expressed the Faith of the Apostles is sufficient to account for the assignment of the articles to them. This assignment of the Creed to the Apos-

[1] For the form, compare Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, II, pp. 47–48; Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 200.

[2] The Latin original is given by Heurtley in his *De fide et symbolo*, 1869, translated into English in his *On Faith and the Creed*, 1886.

tles corresponds with similar assignments of the *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Apostles*, the *Didascalia*, the *Constitution of the Apostles*, etc. There is behind the legend the fact that Tertullian and Irenæus regard the Creed as apostolic in its statement of the Faith.

The Apostles' Creed in its present form can be traced to 700 A. D., about which time it was probably revised officially in Rome; for the Psalter of Gregory III, and Pirminius, a Benedictine missionary, both of the middle eighth century, quote it.[1]

The following table gives the Apostles' Creed in its proper divisions, and distinguishes the original form, in small capitals, from the additions of the fourth century, in italics, and the final additions, in ordinary type. The original words in parentheses were subsequently omitted.

[1] For details of evidence, *v.* Caspari, *Anecdota*, p. 151; Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, pp. 233 *seq.* For the text in Latin, Greek, and English, see Schaff, II, p. 45; for the text in Latin, Burn, p. 240.

THE APOSTLES' CREED

I BELIEVE

I In (one) God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.

II (1) And in Jesus Christ, *His only Son* (God's Son), our Lord,

(2) *Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost*, born of the Virgin Mary

(3) Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; He descended into hell;

(4) The third day *He rose again* (risen) from the dead;

(5) *He* ascended into heaven;

(6) And *sitteth* (seated) on the right hand of *God* the Father *Almighty;*

(7) From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe

III (1) (And) in the Holy Ghost,

(2) The Holy *Catholic* Church, the communion of Saints

(3) The forgiveness of sins,

(4) The resurrection of the (flesh) body, and the life everlasting.

Amen.

CHAPTER II

GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY

The first article of the Creed was originally a confession of Faith in the one personal God of the Old Testament, and all that was implied therein. It was based on the *Shema*, so-called from its initial Hebrew word.

> "Hear, O Israel: Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one. Therefore thou shalt love Yahweh thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength" (Dt. 6^{4-5}).

This was followed by vv.$^{6-9}$, and then by Dt. 11^{13-21} and Num. 15^{37-41}. This *Shema* was the Confession of Faith, the Creed of Israel, said at morning and evening worship with appropriate prayers, of the nature of ascriptions to God, called *Benedictions*. Josephus[1] testifies that this was the custom among the Jews from remote antiquity, therefore undoubtedly in the time of Jesus, and of Jesus Himself. This *Shema* was also written on parchment with Ex. $13^{1-10,\ 11-16}$, Dt. 11^{13-21}, and put in *phylacteries* worn on the head and arm at prayers. It was also written on parchment with Dt. 11^{13-21}, and placed in the *Mezuzah*, affixed to the right-hand door-post of the Jewish house. All these were universal customs in the time of Jesus.

[1] *Ant.*, $4^{8,\ 13}$; *cf.* Schürer, *Gesch. des jüdischen Volkes*, II, s. 382.

Jesus Himself attests the *Shema*, when, in reply to the scribe who asks Him, "*What commandment is the first of all?*" He answered: "*The first is, Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is One; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul*, (and with all thy mind), *and with all thy strength*" (Mark 12^{28-30}). *Lord* is the Greek κύριος, which stands in Greek for *Yahweh* of the Old Testament.

There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this Creed to Jesus and His Apostles, and to the Jews of His time. (1) It asserted clearly and unmistakably that the God of Israel, the God of the Old Testament, was *really God, Yahweh our God*, which excludes every kind of Atheism.

(2) That He was the *one only God*, against all and every kind of Polytheism: *Yahweh is One.*

(3) That He was the *personal God* of Israel, *Yahweh*, who had been from the most ancient times their Saviour. This excludes every kind of Pantheism.

(4) That a relation of *love* was the most essential relation between their personal God and each individual person of the people of Israel. *Thou shalt love Yahweh* THY *God.* This represents God as the supreme moral Being, worthy of all love.

(5) It is also quite certain that this was regarded only as a summary of Faith, and that it implied all that Yahweh was and had been to Israel as represented in the Old Testament Scriptures.

We should bear in mind that this Creed of Israel,

which was the Creed of Jesus and His Apostles, and which therefore became the Creed of all Christians, is but the apex of the whole religious development set forth in the Old Testament. Yahweh, the God of Israel, is just that God whom the Law and the Prophets, Hebrew Psalmody and Hebrew Wisdom, show forth in all their wondrous representations.

(1) The faith that the God of Israel was *really* God, has behind it a history of religious struggle. For example, see Elijah on Mount Carmel, and hear his challenge: *If Yahweh be God, follow Him: but if Baal, then follow him* (I Kings 18^{21}); and his appeal to God: *Hear me, Yahweh! hear me, that this people may know that Thou, Yahweh, art God* (v.^{37}). When the people were convinced by the fire from heaven, they fell on their faces and cried: *Yahweh, He is God; Yahweh, He is God* (v. ^{39}).

(2) The early Israelites were more concerned with maintaining the divinity of their own God, and His incomparable superiority to the gods of other nations, than they were in denying the real existence of other gods; but from the time of Jeremiah onward the prophets insisted that Yahweh was the *one only God*, and that the gods of other nations were non-realities. Psalm 115^{A} expresses that conviction. It comes from a period of conflict with idolatry (*cf.* Is. 44^{9-20}; Je. 10^{1-16}), probably the Babylonian period.

> "Not to us, Yahweh, not to us;
> But to Thine own name give glory.
> Wherefore should the nations say:
> 'Where now is their God?'

"Our God is in heaven (above).
All that He pleaseth, He doeth.
Their idols are silver and gold,
The work of the hands of men.

"A mouth have they; but they cannot speak.
Eyes have they; but they cannot see.
Ears have they; but they cannot hear.
A nose have they; but they cannot smell.

"Hands have they; but they cannot feel.
Feet have they; but they cannot walk.
Like them be they that made them,
Every one that trusteth in them."

This was the first of the Hallels recited after supper at the Passover; and doubtless by Jesus and His disciples. It is probably part of the hymn referred to in the Gospels as concluding the feast before the departure for Gethsemane (Mt. 26^{30}).

With this history and usage behind it, there can be no doubt that the Apostles urged this doctrine of the *Unity of God* upon all their disciples to the exclusion of every kind of Polytheism. This is what was at the basis of the refusal to eat of the meat taken from the flesh of victims offered to idols (I Cor. 10^{18-21}). This was the reason why the early Christians refused to offer sacrifices to the emperor, or in any way to recognize any other god but the one God of Israel, even at the expense of cruel persecution and martyrdom.

(3) Yahweh was from the earliest times conceived of as a person. *Yahweh* is just as truly a proper name as Joseph, Isaiah, or Jacob; and is formed by the prefix י in precisely the same way. It probably also

has a concrete meaning: *The One ever with His people*, in accordance with the promise (Ex. 3^{12}), "*I shall be with thee*," that is, to save from all enemies. The personal relation of salvation between Yahweh and His people is the most characteristic note of the Old Testament religion which passes over into the New Testament religion; and this is true, notwithstanding the transcendence of God, which became so characteristic of later Judaism; because they still retained the conception of the divine immanence by the doctrines of theophanies, the mediating Word, and the divine Spirit, and also of the ministry of angels.

(4) The relation of love between Yahweh and His people played a more important part in the religious history of Israel than is commonly supposed by modern writers. It was a tender personal relation of individual persons to the great supreme Person. Hosea was the first of the prophets to emphasize this relation, which is further unfolded by Jeremiah, the Second Isaiah, and the Psalmists.

This is well set forth in Psalm 116, another one of the Hallels, and part of that Song sung after Passover and probably also by Jesus and His Apostles just before Gethsemane. This was the environment of religious experience, which was common to Jesus and His Apostles with all pious Jews, and which was transmitted by them to the Christian community with the Christian Creed. These Hallels of the Passover were undoubtedly sung by Christians in their celebration of the Eucharist, which St. Paul names the Christian Passover (I Cor. 5^{7-8}).

(5) It is quite common to so concentrate the attention upon the express statements of the Creed as to overlook and forget all that the Creed implies. It was not sufficient that the Jew should say the *Shema* and the Hallels, and circumscribe his religious faith and life by them. These were simply the summary statements, which indeed implied his faith in the entire Old Testament and all the sacred institutions of Israel. These were the tremendous background of the Creed, which gave it its force and importance; the shaft of the arrow-head or spear-point, which enabled it to accomplish its purpose. Jew and Christian agreed in regarding the Old Testament Scriptures as a Canon of Holy Scripture, divinely inspired and authoritative, the norm of faith and life.

This faith of Israel, the fundamental faith shared by Jesus and His Apostles, was implied in all Jewish converts to Christianity; so of all proselytes to Judaism, and so of all the Gentiles who became Christians. It was, then, necessary that it should be put in a Christian form; and, as it was fundamental to the faith of Jesus and His Apostles, it must precede, in the Christian *Credo*, faith in Jesus Christ Himself.

The formula which would have come over from Judaism was: *Yahweh our God, Yahweh is One.* This was the *Shema.* Turn this into a personal statement of faith, and it would be: *I believe in one God, Yahweh.* Now, *Yahweh* was, in the time of Jesus, a name of God not used, but kept secret, always being represented by *Lord*, as in the citation from Jesus' words already given.

And the term *Lord* became so attached to Jesus by His immediate disciples that it was no longer used, even in the Epistles of Paul, for the God of Israel, except in citations from the Old Testament itself.[1] And this usage continues in the second and third Christian centuries. Accordingly, another term was necessary to indicate the God of the Old Testament. The most natural one was *Sabaoth*, which is usually associated with *Yahweh* in the Prophets. This was favored also by its use in the New Testament: II Cor. 6^{18}, Rev. 1^{8}, 4^{8}, 11^{17}, 15^{3}, $16^{7,14}$, $19^{6,15}$, 21^{22}, as *παντοκράτωρ*; and by Rom. 9^{29} and James 5^{4}, as *κύριος σαβαώθ*.

Accordingly, we have in the Christian Creed: *I believe in One God, Almighty* (*ἕνα θεὸν παντοκράτορα*).

This was in all probability the original form, and it so appears in the third form of Irenæus,[2] and the first form of Tertullian.[3]

The meaning of *παντοκράτωρ* = צבאות ought to be evident from Biblical usage. As I have shown,[4] it first represented the God of David as the God of the battle-array of Israel; then later as the God of the armies of heaven—sun, moon, and stars, and all the heavenly host.

Prof. McGiffert thinks (p. 110) that it "refers to the sovereignty or providence of God." But he has been misled by a passage in Theophilus, 1^{4}, giving it this sense, which he quotes, and because of his mistaken interpretation of *Father* in the Creed as used in the sense of Creator; so that

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 86–87.
[2] *Adv. Hæreses*, IV, 33^{7}. [3] *De Virginibus*, 1.
[4] Robinson's Gesenius' *Hebrew Lexicon*, new edition, BDB.

the two terms give creation and providence. In fact צבאות, in the usage of the Old Testament, is quite frequently used with reference to the creative activity of God, and does not in itself, or in usage, refer specifically to providential relations. It became a divine name as truly as *Yahweh*. It was used in the Creed, simply as a substitute for יהוה, and not in any specific sense whatever.

The Greek word means *all ruler* rather than *almighty*, which has come from the Latin term *omnipotentem*. It is easy to draw a sharp distinction in meaning between the Greek and Latin terms, as Westcott and others do; and to prefer the Greek terminology; but it is just as easy to distinguish between the Greek and the original Hebrew, and to prefer the Hebrew, as the original. In fact *παντοκράτωρ* was a translation of צבאות, designed to bear its meaning, and not any specific Greek meaning of the term; so also *omnipotens* was designed to translate *παντοκράτωρ* and give its meaning, and not the more specific meaning of the Latin word. The meaning of the Creed cannot be determined by etymologies. These words bear historical, theological, and comprehensive meanings, based on the Hebrew original. Undoubtedly Christian writers, after the original meaning of *Sabaoth* in the Creed had been lost, interpreted *παντοκράτωρ* and *omnipotens* and *almighty* in accordance with the usual meaning of these words in these various languages, but that does not determine the original meaning of the term in the primitive Creed.

The baptismal formula was *into the name of the Father*. It was inevitable, therefore, that *Father*

should appear in the Creed, either as a substitute for *Almighty* or as an addition to it.

The only evidence for *God the Father* alone is in Cyprian (*Ep.* 69), where it is quite possibly an abbreviation, at a time when παντοκράτωρ was losing its significance. Elsewhere *Father* appears in the Creed before *Almighty;* so Irenæus (*Hær.*, I, 10[1]), Novatian, Lucian, Arius, Eusebius, Cyril, Epiphanius, and others. (Schaff, II, pp. 13 *seq.*) This usage, from the middle of the second century onward, makes it evident that there is no valid reason to question that *Father* was in the Creed soon after the baptismal formula appeared in Matthew and the *Didache.*

The term *Father* is interpreted by Prof. McGiffert as meaning "not the father of Christ or of the Son, but the father of the world or the universe, that is, its creator, author, or source" (p. 109). It is quite true that *Father* is common in the Christian Literature of the second century in the sense of Creator. But that was a usage common to Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Christians, and therefore most appropriate to Apologists. The use of *Father* for the Creator is well known in the Old Testament as well as in the New Testament, but in both it is the unusual sense. *Yahweh* is more frequently the Father of Israel, or of the kings of Israel, and later of those who follow the principles of Divine Wisdom. In the New Testament God is Father in the more specific sense: first, of Jesus as His only Son; and, secondarily, of the disciples of Jesus. There should be no doubt, therefore, that *Father* in the baptismal formula originally meant the Father of the Son Jesus Christ. *Father* in the Creed, from the second century on, has been interpreted in that sense. It is therefore altogether improbable that *Father* came into the Creed in the middle of the second century, in the specific sense of Creator.

Furthermore, the use of *Son*, in the second section of the Creed, by antithesis suggests the meaning of *Father* in the first section, as the Father of this Son. It is improbable that *Father* could be used in the first section in a sense altogether different from that antithesis; for *Son* implies Father of that Son, and *Father* implies Son of that Father. If *Father* meant nothing more than Creator, it would still be Old Testament doctrine, and there would seem to be no

sufficient motive to introduce into the Creed *Father* in that sense, rather than the plain, unambiguous, Old Testament term, *Maker of heaven and earth*, which subsequently was added, when certainly *Father* was interpreted in the specifically Christian sense.

The term *Father* is the specifically Christian element in the first article of the Creed. All else is derived from the Old Testament. As the One God *Sabaoth* implied the entire Old Testament doctrine of God, so the term *Father* implied all that was additional in the New Testament doctrine of God; so that the first article of the Creed expressed the Old Testament and the New Testament doctrine of God in one simple comprehensive statement.

Dr. McGiffert maintains the novel theory that the Apostles' Creed was prepared in antagonism to the heresy of Marcion, and he interprets the terms *Father* and *Almighty* as directed against them. He says that the tenets of Marcion "were, first, that the God of the Christians is not the Creator and ruler of the universe, who is hard, stern, and severe, but another being, the God of redemption, who is pure love and mercy and was entirely unknown until revealed by Jesus Christ. (*Cf.* Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, especially Bks. I, II, and IV; also Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, I, 26 and 58; and Irenæus, I, 27.)" (P. 107.)

Dr. McGiffert, then, in accordance with his theory that the Creed was aimed at Marcion, interprets *Father* as Creator and παντοκράτωρ as *ruler* of the universe, and so gets his antithesis to Marcion. But if *Father* is the Father of Jesus Christ, the Son, and παντοκράτωρ = *Sabaoth*, for *Yahweh Sabaoth* of the Old Testament, the God who, according to the *Shema*, loves His people and demands above all from them their love, then there is no such antithesis to Marcion in the Creed as is supposed.

Indeed, the general opinion among scholars is that Marcion himself and his pupils did not find the Roman Creed against them, but really adhered to it. Their conflict with

Christianity was rather against doctrines not expressly defined in the Creed. Even Harnack says that the Roman Symbol was probably composed before the conflict with Marcion and the great schools of Gnosticism, c. 140 A. D. (*Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, 1897, I, s. 532).

The Creed of the fourth century no longer has *one God*, but only *God;* for it was not important at that time to assert the unity of God against Polytheism, but to maintain the Triune God over against *Monarchianism* and *Arianism*, which made a misuse of the term *One God* as applied to the Father.

The phrase εἰς ἕνα θεόν is used in Irenæus (c. 180) in his three forms, also in Tertullian (c. 200) in three forms, Origen (*De Principiis*, c. 230), Gregory Thaumaturgus (270), Lucian (300), Arius (328), Eusebius of Cæsarea (325), Cyril (350), Epiphanius, both forms (374). But Cyprian (250) and Novatian (250) have only *in Deum*. That is all that appears in the Old Roman Creed of Rufinus, in Marcellus, Augustine, the Creed of Aquileia (390), Venantius Fortunatus (570), and others. (*V.* Schaff, II, pp. 12 *seq.*) Sometime during the third century it must have been omitted from the Roman Creed for a reason. May we determine that reason? Harnack, Kattenbusch, and McGiffert think that ἕνα was never in the Roman Creed, but that it was an interpretative addition of Irenæus and Tertullian; but Zahn and Burn give a better historic interpretation of the origin of the Creed. It is hardly fair to claim that it was an explanatory addition of Irenæus and Tertullian; for they use it in *all cases*, and it was the common usage of the writers of the East in their Creeds.

Zahn and Burn (p. 63) contend that it was dropped out of the Creed, because of the improper use of it made by the the modalist Monarchians.

The Monarchians maintained what is known as a modal Trinity, affirming the unity and monarchy of God, and that Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit were

only modes of His manifestation. They were also called Patripassians, because their opinion seemed to involve the Father as suffering the passion of Christ. They might say on the basis of the Old Roman Creed, God the Father is one. There is only one God, who is the Father. The Son of God cannot be another God, for there is only *one* God. He cannot be a different person from the Father, for the Father is the only God; therefore the Son can only be the Father in another mode of manifestation. The omission of *one*, which could not have been ambiguous when *God the Almighty* was used, but which became ambiguous when *Father* was used, would not be a yielding up of the doctrine of the *unity* of God, but would be the removal of an apparent inconsistency between that unity and the doctrine of the Trinity; for while *Father* might be used as the title of the one God, it was also used, and by Christians, more commonly, of the first person of the Trinity as distinguished from the second and third persons. It became more and more necessary to emphasize this in the Christological and Trinitarian conflicts of the third and fourth centuries.

The phrase, *Maker of heaven and earth*, was not in the Roman Creed of the fourth century, as is evident from the creeds of Rufinus and Marcellus.

It is true that in the first form of Irenæus we have: τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς (*Adv. Hær.*, I, 10, § 1); and in the second form, preserved only in Latin, we have: *Fabricatorem cœli et terræ, et omnium quæ in eis sunt* (*Adv. Hær.*, III, 4, §§ 1, 2). But in the third form he has: ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα. It

is possible that Irenæus is here, as in other articles, using an Eastern form of the Creed, but it seems more likely that he is enlarging the statement of the Creed in order to emphasize the doctrine of creation implied therein. This is certainly true of Tertullian, who, in his first form, uses *mundi conditorem* (*De Virg.*, 1); in the second, attaches creation to the Son: *per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil* (*Adv. Prax.*, 2); and, in the third form: *nec alium præter mundi conditorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit, per Verbum suum primo omnium demissum.* It should be evident from this that there was as yet no fixed formula as to the creation. Only one of these forms resembles that of the Creed, and this uses the participle for the noun, and is much fuller in statement.

On the other hand, the earliest Oriental Creeds have the doctrine of creation in various forms. The longer form of Cyril (350) has ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων, as it appears in the Constantinopolitan Creed (381). The Nicene Creed of 325 has only πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. The later official text of the Apostles' Creed, *creatorem cœli et terræ*, does not appear in any purely Gallican formula, that is, any west of Italy, before the twelfth century; although the influence of the Nicene Creed is often seen in such phrases as: *omnium creaturarum visibilium et invisibilium conditorem.* However, the *Psalterium Latinum et Græcum Papæ Gregorii* (III, 731–741) contains it, and so does the sermon of the Benedictine missionary of the middle of the eighth century.

The opinion of Burn and Kattenbusch is, that it may have come into the Roman Creed through the influence of Niceta, the Bishop of Remesiana, in Dacia, who had a great influence in Rome in the early fifth century. He wrote an exposition of the Creed, which has been wrongly attributed to Nicetas of Aquileia, entitled *Explanatio Symboli* (Burn, p. 254). Niceta used the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, and the phrase seems to have come from Cyril's Creed. The phrase was taken from that

Creed into the Constantinopolitan. Naturally the same influence would take it into the Roman Creed at about the same time, at the beginning of the fifth century, after Rufinus and Marcellus had passed from history.

It is, indeed, an Old Testament formula, derived from the Sabbath section of the Ten Words, and contained in the formula of prayer, Acts 4^{24}.

This phrase seems to have become common in the ritual of public prayer, as a formula of invocation or ascription.

The interpretation of this article of the Creed undoubtedly varies from time to time, as that which is *implicit* is made *explicit* in interpretation and application to special times and circumstances.

Not only all the Biblical doctrine of God in the Old Testament and the New may be considered in the basis of the credal statement, but also all legitimate consequences of these doctrines, as determined by the Church in its historical formularies and Confessions of Faith. This is the variable element. The fixed element is, that which the article meant to its authors as an explicit summary of the Biblical Faith.

CHAPTER III

JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, OUR LORD

The second article of the Creed expresses faith in Jesus as the Messiah of the Old Testament, and as the Son of God, and Lord God of the New Testament.

I have already given reasons for the opinion that the original form of this article corresponded with the symbol of the fish.

Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.

It is improbable that these two formulæ, that of the Creed and that of the Fish, identical in meaning, should be different in form, when they both were secret symbols; for the memory, especially of untrained people, would have been confused by even slight verbal differences. The *Saviour* was omitted when the *salvation* was described in the subordinate articles that follow, and the more comprehensive *our Lord* was put in its place. All this is simply the putting together of the most characteristic titles of Jesus ascribed to Him in the New Testament. The fundamental confession of Faith is that of St. Peter, the spokesman of the Apostles. This is given in the four Gospels; in the simplest and original form: *Thou art the Messiah* (Mark 8^{29}).

The Book of Acts and the Epistles have a large number of passages which clearly show that salvation in apostolic preaching depended simply upon

believing that Jesus was the Messiah, or Son of God, or Lord, or Saviour (Acts 2^{36-38}, 5^{31}, 8^{37}, 9^{20}, 16^{31}, I Cor. 12^{3}, Rom. 10^{9-10}, I John 4^{15}, $5^{1,5}$). These terms all came into the Creed.

(1) *Jesus Christ.*

There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the order of *Jesus* and *Christ.* The weight of evidence for the second century is *Jesus Christ*, and when that is added to the order of words in the Symbol of the Fish there should be little doubt that this was the original order, especially as it is the usage that prevails in the Book of Acts and the Apostolic Fathers. It is also most natural that the three predicates of Jesus should all follow *Jesus*, unless *Christ* had become a proper name.

The name *Jesus* was the proper name of Jesus of Nazareth, given Him at His birth, according to Luke 2^{21}, in fulfilment of the words of the angel of the annunciation, Luke 1^{31}, and especially Mt. 1^{21}, where it is explained: "*for it is He that shall save His people from their sins.*" It doubtless, therefore, had wrapped up in it the meaning of *Saviour:* but in fact it is used in the New Testament and subsequently as a proper name; and, when it is necessary to emphasize and distinguish the Lord Jesus from others of the same name, He is called *Jesus of Nazareth.*

The term *Christ* is a transliteration of χριστός, a Greek translation of the Hebrew משיח, *Messiah.* At first it is used with reference to Jesus with the definite article, as in the Gospels, *the Messiah;* then later, in accordance with the well-known law that by famil-

iar usage nouns become sufficiently definite in themselves, the article was omitted; and finally it became practically a secondary proper name, attached or prefixed to *Jesus*. The Latin Versions do not translate Χριστός, but simply transliterate it—*Christus;* and all modern languages follow the same usage. But in this way its meaning was soon lost except to scholars; and it became, and is now usually treated, as a proper name. The modern Versions greatly err in this particular. It would be better to use the Hebrew term, which indicates that Jesus is just *the Messiah* of the Old Testament, the expected Saviour of Jewish anticipation.[1]

There can be no doubt that the first and fundamental conception of the early Christians was that *Jesus was the Messiah*. They were a Messianic community, which is precisely the same as a Christian community; and so they were first called *Christians* at Antioch, because they were there distinguished from the Jews as holding to Jesus *the Messiah, the Christ* (Acts 11^{26}).

Messiah means properly *one anointed* by religious ceremony to a holy office, whether king, priest, or prophet. It came to be attached in Jewish usage to the one predicted by the Old Testament prophets, usually as a *son of David*, but sometimes also as a *prophet*. Both of these ideas came out in the New Testament, in the passage already given, where St. Peter makes his confession (Mt. 16^{13-16}).

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy; Messiah of the Gospels;* and *Messiah of the Apostles.*

It is evident from the preaching of St. Peter in the early chapters of Acts, and from the teaching of St. Paul in his Epistles, that the apostolic preaching had as its chief feature that Jesus was in fact the Messiah of Prophecy, to whom all the Prophets and the Law pointed; and that He either had fulfilled, or was about to fulfil, all the ideals of the Old Testament.

There can be no doubt that the early Christians at Rome, as elsewhere, when they said, *I believe in Jesus Christ* meant that *Jesus was the Christ, the Messiah of Old Testament prophecy.*

(2) The second item in this clause of the Creed was originally *God's Son* in accordance with the Symbol of the Fish. This was soon changed into *Son of God*, the usual order of the words, and finally into *His Son*, when *Father* came into the first article of the Creed.

(*a*) The term *Son of God* was primarily a Messianic title, based on the use of the term both for Israel as a nation (Ex. 4^{22-23}, Dt. 32^{6} *seq.*), and also for the dynasty of David (II Sam. 7^{11-16}).[1] In all probability it is used in this sense in the recognition of Jesus by the Father at His baptism (Mark 1^{11}).

So in the question of the high priest before the Sanhedrim (Mt. 26^{63-64}), when he put Jesus under oath: "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be *the Messiah, the Son of God.* Jesus saith unto him: Thou hast said (it)."

(*b*) It is evident, however, that the term *Son of God*, especially in the form, *Son of the Father*, is used

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 101 *seq.*, 127.

in a higher, a theological sense, with the implication of divinity.

So by Jesus Himself (Luke 10^{22} = Mt. 11^{27}):

"*All things have been delivered unto me of my Father:*
And no one knoweth who the Son is, save the Father;
And who the Father is, save the Son,
And he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal (Him)."

Jesus represents in this logion that He was the Son of His Father, God; that He was the only Son of the Father; and that He was in possession of a unique authority delivered unto Him by the Father, and a unique knowledge of the Father; and that no one could know the Father unless the Son revealed the Father to him.[1]

In the Gospel of John, Jesus, in addressing God, or speaking of God, says seventy-nine times *the Father*, twenty-five times *my Father*, nine times *Father*, and once *the living Father;* and in all these passages the unique relation, already taught in the Synoptists, is either presupposed and implied, or else asserted in similar, or varied, or enhanced terms.[2]

The pre-existence of this Son, before He entered this world, is implied in the logion given above, but it is explicit in several passages of John. Jesus says: "*For I am come down from heaven* (6^{38}); *I am from above—I am not of this world* (8^{23}); *Before Abraham was born, I am* (8^{58}); *I came out from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go unto the Father*" (16^{28}).

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Incarnation of the Lord*, pp. 33–34.
[2] *V.* Briggs, *Incarnation*, pp. 33, 34, 45.

The Pauline Epistles plainly teach a pre-existence of the Son of God before He came into this world. This pre-existence is, moreover, definitely attached to the term *Son of God* in Col. 1^{13}, an epistle written from Rome by the apostle and therefore setting forth his preaching to the Romans in his time. He here mentions the Father and "*the Son of His love*," and of the latter he says:

> "In whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins: *who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation:* For in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through Him, and unto Him; and He is before all things, and in Him all things consist" (Col. 1^{13-17}).

So also in the Epistle to the Hebrews, an epistle written also probably in the vicinity of Rome, not much later, possibly by Barnabas, a similar statement is made:

> "God . . . hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in (His) Son, whom He appointed heir of all things, through whom also He made the worlds; who being the effulgence of His glory, and the very image of His substance, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had made purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high," etc. (Heb. 1^{1-3}).

It then goes on to apply to the Son passages of the Old Testament, which definitely refer to Yahweh; thus identifying Jesus with Yahweh.

It is quite the same with Mark and Luke, the Gospels written especially for the Roman Christians,

but subsequently to these Epistles, the one by the assistant of Peter, the other by an assistant of Paul.

Thus Mark begins his Gospel:

> "*The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God*"; and he clearly represents the Son of God as the theophanic angel of the covenant of Malachi, and as the Yahweh of the Second Isaiah, when he says that these passages were fulfilled in John the Baptist and Jesus. For he defines his first statement, that Jesus was the Son of God, thus:
>
> "Even as it is written in Isaiah the Prophet, Behold I send my messenger before Thy face, who shall prepare Thy way"; and
>
> "The Voice of one crying in the wilderness,
> Make ye ready the way of Yahweh,
> Make His paths straight."

In so applying these passages of the Old Testament, Mark makes John the Baptist the herald and Jesus the Son of God, the theophanic angel and Yahweh Himself.[1] There should be no doubt, therefore, that *Son of God* meant to the Roman Church, taught by St. Peter and St. Paul, and using the Gospels of Mark and Luke as their Gospels, that the Son of God was *really and truly God.*

It is not known when the phrase *Son of God* was changed into *His Son.* The general opinion is that it was the form of the Creed known to Tertullian, who gives it thus in two of his three references to the Creed. But Irenæus favors the older form, probably influenced, as Loofs maintains, by the Creed of his native city in Asia. It certainly had assumed that form long before the close of the fourth

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Incarnation*, pp. 175 *seq.*

century. There was an irresistible tendency in that direction, so soon as *Father* was introduced into the first section of the Creed, and also because of the influence of the *baptismal formula*, for it was important to define *the Son of God* as *the Son of the Father* in the specifically Christian sense.

Implicitly this term contained the entire New Testament doctrine of the divine sonship of Jesus, as the term *Christ* the Old Testament doctrine of the Messiah. While the early Christians were gradually appropriating that teaching, especially before the New Testament writings were all gathered into a canon, interpretations of the phrase were quite possible which were not altogether in accord with New Testament teachings. Such interpretations were in fact made in the various heretical sects which Catholic Christianity threw off.

Harnack's interpretation of the Creed, and indeed of the entire ancient Christology, is based on his peculiar theory that primitive Christianity had two rival conceptions of Christ, the one *pneumatic*, the other *adoptionistic*. The pneumatic regarded Christ as a pre-existent Spirit, who became man. This, he thinks, was the view of the chief Apostolic Fathers, such as Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp. The Adoptionists explained that Jesus was a man chosen by God, in whom the divine Spirit dwelt, and who was adopted by God as His Son at the baptism. This conception appears, Harnack thinks, in Hermas, the Roman prophet, who conceived of the Spirit of Christ as the pre-existent Son of God (*Dogmengeschichte*, I Theil, I, 3^{6}).

Loofs (P.R.E.^{3}, IV, *Christologie*, s. 23) rightly challenges this distinction of Harnack as impossible to carry out in primitive Christianity, and as not productive of good results. Indeed, the Adoptionists were also pneumatic, in that they emphasized the divine Spirit dwelling in Christ. And the term *pneumatic* does not distinguish between those who

made a real distinction between the pre-existent Son and God, and those who were simply Modalists. As usual, Harnack's distinctions are made for a *purpose;* and they are used to throw into the background the doctrine of the reality of the divine sonship of Christ, as taught by St. Paul and the Apostolic Fathers.

Kattenbusch (II, 577–8) thinks that there is some value in the distinction; but objects to the term *pneumatic*, and proposes the term *nativistic*, which brings the Biblical conception of the reality of the sonship of Christ again into prominence. He shows quite well how the Adoptionists would develop their ideas out of the purely Messianic conception of Jesus, thinking that at the baptism He was recognized by God and taken possession of by the Spirit; and that at the resurrection, in accordance with Rom. 1^4 *seq.*, He was declared to be the Son of God by His endowment with divine power. It is quite true that the Adoptionists get little, if at all, beyond the Messianic conception of Jesus; whereas the Apostolic Fathers build in the main upon St. Paul or St. John, and think of the Son of God as truly divine, because begotten by God as a pre-existent Son, a *real sonship* and not merely one nominal, or ideal.

The Church at Rome was troubled in the second and third centuries by heretical teachers, coming chiefly from other parts, who in their doctrine of Christ were essentially *unitarian*. These were named *Monarchians* by Tertullian. He says: "They are constantly throwing out the accusation that we preach two gods, and three gods. . . . 'We hold,' they say, 'the monarchy.'" [1] There were two antithetical kinds of these Monarchians, *the dynamic* and *the modalistic*. The dynamic seem to have originated in Asia Minor, in reaction against the Montanists.

As the latter built on the Gospel of John, these opposed it, as written not by the Apostle but by

[1] *Adv. Prax.*, 3.

Cerinthus, and were thus later called *Alogi* as opponents of the Logos. Theodotus, the currier, came to Rome from Byzantium, and taught his doctrines. He was excommunicated by Pope Victor (c. 195). His chief disciple was another Theodotus, the money-changer, who taught that the divine Spirit was greater than Jesus, because he not only inhabited Jesus but also Melchizedek, and so his followers were called Melchizedekians.

Harnack claims that he was in fact only reasserting the views of Hermas (*Similitudes*, I and IX). He claims that Hermas held that the divine Spirit and not Christ was the pre-existent Son of God. This interpretation of Hermas is false. F. Bauer and others held that Hermas identified Christ with the divine Spirit. This seems likely, if we look only at *Sim.*, 5^6 and 9^1; but, as Dorner clearly showed in his great work on *The History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ* (I, s. 192 *seq.*), Jesus Christ is, in 9^{12-17}, the *Son of God*, and the Spirit identified with the Son in 5^6, 9^1, is not the Third Person of the Trinity, but the Spirit of Christ, as in the II Epistle to the Corinthians; and that is clear from the fact that He is represented as having *created the whole creation*, and as having *cleansed sins;* which are attributes of the Second Person of the Trinity and not of the Third.

Another representative of this school, Artemon, appeared in Rome (c. 230–240), and came into conflict with Pope Zephyrinus.[1] We shall meet a stronger representative of this school later on in Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch (c. 262).

The Modalists were much more powerful and influential, as they were not only concerned to maintain the unity of God, but also the divinity of Jesus Christ. According to Tertullian, Praxeas was the

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.*, V, 28.

first to import this heresy into Rome: "He drove out the Paraclete and crucified the Father." [1] They were called Patripassians, because they made Father, Son, and Spirit only different modes of manifestation of the one God. And so it was the Father who suffered in the Son. Praxeas was at first received with favor at Rome by Victor, doubtless because of his conflict with Theodotus before the serious character of his views became apparent. Later Noetus was influential at Rome through his followers Epigonus and Cleomenes, and they were also favored by Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus for similar reasons. This brought about a schism in the Roman Church, in which Hippolytus contended for the Christology of the Gospel of John against the Modalists.[2]

The Modalists attained their height in Sabellius, who worked at Rome at the beginning of the third century, and whose name is attached to the heresy of *Sabellianism*. According to this theory, there is one God, who first manifests Himself as Father, then becomes incarnate in the Son, then lastly comes as the Holy Spirit to the Church.

The Roman Creed of the middle of the second century was made before these heresies appeared to trouble the Church. The term *Son of God* could be interpreted by them in accordance with these views, especially if they rejected the Gospel of John, and minimized the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. But the Church of Rome

[1] *Adv. Prax.*, 1. [2] *Ref. Omn. Hær.*, 10^{27}.

and all Christian Churches interpreted the Creed as merely the summary of the Sacred Scriptures, to which they adhered as the Word of God and Christ. The change of *Son of God* to *His Son*, that is *the Father's Son*, in accordance with the usage of Tertullian, would not suit the Monarchians so well. For it might be said, that the *One God* appeared first as Father, then as Son, etc.; but it would not be easy to say *that*, when the Son was declared to be *the Son of the Father*.

(*c*) In the Creed of the middle of the fourth century the term *the only begotten*, τὸν μονογενῆ, appears in Marcellus and Rufinus. But it is not found in Irenæus or Tertullian, when they refer to the Rule of Faith, though they use the term in conflict with heresies. It seems that they would have used it, therefore, in referring to the Rule of Faith, if it had been there in their time. So also it is absent from the Creeds of Novatian, Faustus, and even Niceta.

It is suggested by Swete that the Catholic writers did not use it, because it had been appropriated by the Valentinian Gnostics for their *æon*, νοῦς. This seems to be unjustified, because Irenæus and Tertullian do use it in controversy, though not in citing the Creed. Burn and Kattenbusch think it was in the original text of the Creed. I agree with Zahn and McGiffert that it was not in the original Creed; but I think, with Zahn, that it was added about the same time that ἕνα was omitted from the first article, in order to exclude and overcome the heresies of the Modalists.

The term μονογενής is a term derived from the Gospel of John (1[14]): ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός; (and 1[18]): μονογενὴς θεός (W. H., Hort, Harnack, Plummer), or ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός (usual text, R. V.; *cf.* 3[16-18], I John 4[9]).

The Latin translation, *unicus*, doubtless was designed to have the same meaning as μονογενής, but in fact it is weaker; the more accurate rendering would be *unigenitus*.

This designation of the Son as *the only begotten*, not only emphasizes His *uniqueness* as the *only* Son, but also emphasizes the fact that He was *a begotten Son*, and therefore not *an adopted Son*, or a *manifestation of God as Son*. It excludes both kinds of Monarchianism. It represents that Jesus, the Messiah, was the Son of God in the highest sense as begotten, as having therefore the same *nature*, *being*, *substance* as the Father who begat Him. Doubtless the influence of the Eastern Creeds, the Johannine writings, and the theology of the Logos is at the basis of the insertion of this term in the Creed.

(3) *Our Lord* was in the Creed cited in the middle of the fourth century. Was it in the Roman Creed of the second century? This is affirmed by all of the chief writers on the Creed except McGiffert.

McGiffert bases himself upon its omission in the references to the Rule of Faith in Irenæus and Tertullian. However, Irenæus does give the words in his third form: τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα (*Adv. Hær.*, IV, 33[7]). It is evident that I Cor. 8[6] is in the mind of Irenæus here, from his use of δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα; and the question is, whether the words of the Creed suggested the passage, or the passage was used as an addition to the first article of the Creed. It is noteworthy that in the first article ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα is added to ἕνα θεὸν παντοκράτορα. Is not, therefore, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα added in precisely the same way? A reference to the passage seems to verify it, for in the two clauses we have: εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα. If Irenæus followed the passage, he would use εἷς κύριος, and

not τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν. He follows the Creed in both clauses, simply adding the doctrine of creation to each, in accordance with the original passage.

That which influences me very strongly in favor of the originality of *our Lord* in the Creed, with reference to Jesus Christ, is that this is the usage of the New Testament writers and of writers of the second Christian century. In Latin writers under the influence of Augustine († 430) and his emphasis upon the sovereignty of God, *Lord* is seldom used for Jesus Christ, but usually refers to God the Father. I do not see what motive could have induced its insertion into the Creed later than the second century. Furthermore, *Lord* is in all the earliest Eastern Creeds.

The term *Lord* is an indefinite term in itself, and has many variations of meaning, from *Sir*, a form of polite address, to a name of God.

(*a*) It is used in the Gospels in addressing Jesus, where it means nothing more than *Sir*, a form of polite address.

(*b*) It is also used for all those in authority, whether rabbis, masters of estates, priests, or kings.

Naturally therefore it would be, like *Son of God*, another title for Messiah, based on Psalm 110, quoted by Jesus in controversy with the Pharisees (Mt. 22^{41} *seq.*)

It might then be held that, in some of the passages of the preaching of the Apostles, *Lord* was another term of Messianic dignity. It is evident, however, that *Lord*, in the usage of the Apostles, has a

much higher sense; for in fact the use of *Lord* as a divine name disappears from the Epistles, and usually from the Christian writers of the early Church, except in citations from the Old Testament for God and when used of Jesus alone. It is difficult for us to appreciate this, even when we know that the Hellenistic Jews always addressed God and spoke of Him as κύριος, and the Palestinian Jews as אדני, both meaning *lord*. This sudden change of usage can only be explained by the fact that Jesus Christ became to the Apostles *Lord* in the sense that He was also *their God*. The confession of Thomas (John 20^{28}) is doubtless given from the point of view of a writer at the close of the first century; but in fact, when he is represented as saying, "*My Lord and my God*," he is only saying what St. Paul and all of the Apostles would most certainly have said, soon after the resurrection of Jesus.

Kattenbusch is quite correct in regarding the term *our Lord* as Pauline in origin.[1] So his usual salutation was: "Grace to you and peace from *God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ*" (Rom. 1^{7}, I Cor. 1^{3}, II Cor. 1^{2}, Gal. 1^{3}, Eph. 1^{2}, Phil. 1^{2}, Phile. ^{3}).

I cannot go so far as Kattenbusch, in the significance he gives to I Cor. 8^{5-6}, as basal for the Creed; and yet the significance is very great with reference to the meaning of the Lordship of Christ:

> "For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth; as there are gods many, and lords

[1] *Cf.* Rom. 5^{11-21}, 6^{23}, 8^{39}, 15^{30}, I Cor. 16^{23}, II Cor. 13^{14}, Gal. 6^{18}, Eph. 6^{24}, +.

> many; yet to us there is *one God*, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto Him, and *one Lord, Jesus Christ*, through whom are all things, and we through Him."

This passage clearly associates Jesus Christ with the Father as Creator of all, as truly as does the prologue of the Gospel of John. Phil. 2^{5-11} gives the same exalted conception of the Lordship of Christ:

> "Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied Himself. . . . Wherefore also God highly exalted Him, and gave unto Him the name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

Here Jesus Christ is distinctly represented as pre-existent in glory, equal with God in rank, and in the form of God in His state. After His humiliation comes exaltation, in which He is *the object of universal worship as Lord.* The very fact that this requires the confession of Him as Lord, would seem to require some such confession in the Creed of the Church.

These three terms used for Jesus thus advance toward a climax. He is believed in:

(1) As *the Christ*, the Messiah of the Old Testament prophets;

(2) As *the Son of God, the only begotten, pre-existent* Son of the Father of the New Testament revelation;

(3) As *the Lord, God*, the revealer of the Father, both as the *Yahweh* of the Old Testament and *the supreme Lord* of the New Testament.

CHAPTER IV

SAVIOUR

The term "Saviour" of the Symbol of the Fish, and presumably in a very early form of the second article of the Creed, was explained in six following articles by six successive saving acts of the Son of God. Articles III–VIII of the Apostles' Creed received minor modifications, as we have seen, in its historic use; but these six articles were all without doubt in the Creed at the middle of the second century. It is altogether probable that they all came into the Creed at the same time; for it is difficult to see how any early Christian, who undertook to give a full statement of the redemptive acts of Jesus, could have omitted any one of them. It is quite true that one finds in the New Testament and Christian writers of the second century, not infrequently, two or more of them, and seldom the entire six in any one statement: but the reason is that the writers do not attempt in these passages to give a credal statement, or a complete statement of the elements of the Christian Faith; but only use such of these terms as were appropriate to their purpose at the time.

Irenæus, in his great work, *Against Heresies*, gives us, as we have seen, no less than three forms of the Christian Faith, the fullest in *Adv. Hær.*, I, 10 (*v.* p. 10). He mentions (1) *the birth from a Virgin*, (2)

and the passion, (3) *and the resurrection from the dead*, (4) *and the ascension into heaven in the flesh*, (6) *and His parousia* or *appearance from heaven in the glory of the Father*. The only one omitted is (5), the session at the right hand of the Father, and that is implied between the ascension and the second advent, as usually in the New Testament.

Justin Martyr was born in Samaria. He was in Ephesus (135), where he came into conflict with the Jew Trypho. He went to Rome, where he became a teacher. He wrote his *Apology* in 150–3, and in 155–160 his *Dialogue with Trypho*. Justin received his Christianity from the second generation, the converts of the Apostles. He was also familiar with the Christianity of Asia and of Rome. It is not certain that he knew the Old Roman Symbol, or knew of one at Ephesus. And yet his terminology, less so than that of Irenæus but still sufficiently, suggests such symbols; and he mentions in his writings the six saving acts.

> In his *Apology* he says: "As many as are persuaded, and believe, *that what we teach and say is true*, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for *the remission of their sins* that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For in the name of *God, the Father*, and Lord of the universe, and of our *Saviour Jesus Christ*, and of the *Holy Spirit*, they then receive the washing of water" (61).

The candidates for baptism were thus taught the Christian Faith; and only after they professed their

faith were they baptized by the triune formula. It is evident that they were taught what Irenæus and Justin themselves had received as the Christian Faith from the successors of the Apostles; and that could have been no other than the six successive acts of salvation of Jesus Christ the Saviour. Justin gives 1, 2, 3, 4 together thrice in the same order;[1] and the remaining two, 5, 6, are clearly taught elsewhere. Indeed, the emphasis upon the two advents of Jesus; the first and the second, is characteristic of the *Dialogue with Trypho*, and the second advent is discussed earlier and again later in this writing.

Ignatius was Bishop of Antioch in the first decade of the second century. Undoubtedly he was himself a disciple of the Apostles. He wrote his epistles on his way to martyrdom at Rome, in the second decade of the second century. There can be no doubt that he mentions every one of these six saving acts of Christ as an essential Christian doctrine in his epistles; only 1, 2, 3 in order.[2]

We may now go back to the New Testament itself. St. Peter in his preaching emphasized the resurrection of Christ, but also 2, 4, 5, 6, all but the Virgin Birth, which was omitted for valid reasons to be given later (Acts 1^{21-22}, $2^{22\ seq.}$, $3^{13\ seq.}$, 4^{10-12}, $5^{20-21,\ 30-32}$; *v.* p. 67). St. Paul also regarded the resurrection as the fundamental principle of his teaching (I Cor. $15^{1\ seq.}$); but all of the six saving acts of Christ stand out prominently in his Epistles except the Virgin Birth, for which, however, other terms are used (*v.*

[1] *Apology*, 21, 46; *Dialogue with Trypho*, 63.
[2] *V. Ep. Smyr.*, 1.

p. 72). All of them are not given in any one passage. But there are several groups: 2, 3 (Rom. $6^{4\ seq.}$, I Cor. 15^{3-4}); 1, 2, 4, 5 (Phil. $2^{5\ seq.}$); *cf.* I Tim. 3^{16} for a credal hymn. In the writings ascribed to St. John the doctrine of the Incarnation became most prominent; but the other saving acts are given either explicitly, or implicitly, though not combined in any single statement. The same is true of other New Testament writings.

There is no indication of a form of Creed in the New Testament, and probably none was formulated until after the death of the Apostles, when a simple Creed with the three Trinitarian Articles arose out of the baptismal formula and the requisition for Baptism. But the great doctrine of Faith in Christ and His salvation was so clear and distinct, that there could be no doubt what the specifications of salvation would be, so soon as any attempt was made to formulate them. If we consider the preaching of the Apostles from the beginning, and look at the Christian writers of the early second century, we get this and no other result, as we find it in the Creed.

The Incarnation implies all the others: for the entrance of the Son of God into the world implies His return to the Father, and the work of salvation for which He came into the world, the death and the resurrection. The first advent implies a second, if indeed He was the Messiah of Prophecy. The resurrection also implies all the other saving acts. Resurrection, in the usage of Paul, often stands for the

whole transfer from the grave to the throne. The enthronement is for the purpose of the reign and the second advent for judgment, in all New Testament teaching. The resurrection implies the death of the man Jesus Christ, and that, of course, His birth into the world.

These then are the six successive redemptive acts or states of Jesus, the Son of God, the Messiah:

(1) *Born of Mary the Virgin,*

(2) *Crucified under Pontius Pilate,*

(3) *On the third day risen from the dead,*

(4) *Ascended into the heavens,*

(5) *Seated on the right hand of the Father,*

(6) *Thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead.*

CHAPTER V

BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY

The Third Article of the Creed originally expressed faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as born of Mary the Virgin. This implied a divine agency in His conception, which was subsequently expressed by the addition of the phrase conceived by the Holy Spirit.

The Creed of the eighth century was: *conceived of the Holy Spirit, born of Mary the Virgin;* that of the fourth century: *born of the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin;* that of the second century simply: *born of Mary the Virgin.*

This is evident from Tertullian's first form: *natum ex Virgine Maria* (*De Virginibus Vel.*, I).

In his second form (*Adv. Prax.*, 2) he has enlarged the statement thus: *Hunc missum a Patre in virginem, et ex ea natum, hominem et Deum, filium hominis et filium Dei.* Here the birth of the Virgin is stated; but also that God, the Son of God, *was sent by the Father into the Virgin* to be born of her; and so, though the word conception is not used, the meaning is clear: that when Mary conceived, she conceived as a virgin, without sexual intercourse; that what she conceived was God as well as man, the Son of God, who, Himself, sent by the Father, entered her womb to be born.

In his third form (*De Præscript. Hær.*, 13) this is still further enlarged upon: *postremo delatum, ex Spiritu Patris Dei et Virtute, in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero eius, et ex ea natum.*

Here the Son of God was not only sent down of the Father into the womb of Mary the Virgin; but was *made flesh* there by the agency of the Spirit and power of God. Undoubtedly, Tertullian is here interpreting the *Rule of Faith*, which, he says in these passages, "has come down from the beginning of the Gospel, even before any of the older heretics, much more before Praxeas of yesterday." There can be no doubt that at least the term, "born of the Virgin Mary," was one of the clauses of that Rule of Faith. Tertullian has much to say elsewhere about the Virgin Birth, but we shall reserve that for the present.

Irenæus, in his first form (*Adv. Hær.*, I, 10[1]), has both *τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας*, and *τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν*. This is given as a statement of the Faith, which the Church "throughout the whole world" has "received from the Apostles," and believes with "one soul."

In his second form he has (*Adv. Hær.*, III, 4[2]): "who sustained the birth by the Virgin, Himself, uniting man to God through Himself."

In his third form (*Adv. Hær.*, IV, 33[7]) we have simply: "the Son of God became man."

Thus Irenæus does not, in either of these passages, refer to the work of the Holy Spirit; but, besides the *birth of the Virgin*, he speaks of the Son of God

being made flesh, and *becoming man*, and *uniting man to God*.

It is evident therefore that Irenæus, like Tertullian, knows of the formula, *born of the Virgin Mary*, but shows no knowledge of the formula, *conceived of the Holy Ghost*. In his explanation of the formula, he follows rather the Gospel of John, and the forms of the earliest Eastern Creeds, in his terms, *made flesh* and *becoming man*, and in giving the purpose, *for our salvation*. Irenæus also makes much of the Virgin Birth, in conflict with the heretics of his time.

We cannot make it any more than probable that Justin used a definite Creed. It is, however, important to consider his views of the Virgin Birth, in order to its interpretation; as he was contemporary with the Creed of the middle second century.

In his *Apology* (21) he says: "When we say also that the Word, who is the first-born of God, was produced *without sexual union*. . . ." He here makes it evident that he conceives of Jesus Christ as the pre-existing Word of God, the first-born of God, who was produced in this world of a virgin, without sexual union with Joseph, or any other man. Justin goes on to say:

> "*If we assert that the Word of God was born of God in a peculiar manner, different from ordinary generation*, let this, as said above, be no extraordinary thing to you, who say that Mercury is the angelic word of God. . . . And if we even affirm that he was born of a virgin, accept this in common with what you accept of Perseus" (22). He goes on to argue that the Virgin Birth was predicted by Isaiah 7^{14}.

"This, then, 'Behold a virgin shall conceive,' signifies that a virgin should conceive, *without intercourse.* For if she had had intercourse with any one whatever, she was no longer a virgin: but the power of God having come upon the Virgin, overshadowed her and caused her, while yet a virgin, to conceive. . . . It is wrong therefore to understand the Spirit and power of God as anything else than the Word, who is also the first-born of God—and it was this which, when it came upon the Virgin, overshadowed her, caused her to conceive, not by intercourse, but by power" (33).

In his *Dialogue with Trypho*, which is put back in Ephesus before Justin came to Rome, therefore about 135, he says: "*Now it is evident to all that, in the race of Abraham, according to the flesh, no one has been born of a virgin, or is said to have been born, save this our Christ*" (43, *cf.* also 66). "This Christ, Son of God, who was before the morning stars and the moon, and submitted to become incarnate and to be born of this *virgin of the family of David*, etc." (45).

"Trypho said: 'You endeavor to prove an incredible and wellnigh impossible thing, that God endured to be born and become man.'" Justin says: "If I undertook to prove this by doctrines and arguments of men, you should not bear with me. But if I quote frequently Scriptures, and so many of them, referring to the point, and ask you to comprehend them, you are hard-hearted in the recognition of the mind and will of God" (68).

"But that which is truly a sign and which was to be made trustworthy to mankind, namely, that the first-begotten of all creation should become incarnate by a virgin's womb, and be a child—this he (Isaiah 7) anticipated by the spirit of prophecy, and predicted it, as I have often repeated to you in various ways" (84).

"We know Him to be the first-begotten of God, and to be before all creatures; likewise to be the son of the patriarchs, since He assumed flesh by the virgin of their family and submitted to become a man." "And He became man by the Virgin, in order that the disobedience, which proceeded from the serpent, might receive its destruction, in the same manner in which it derived its origin" (100). "For I have proved that it was Jesus, who appeared to and conversed with Moses, and Abraham, and all the patriarchs without exception, ministering to the will of the Father; who also, I say, came to be born man by the Virgin Mary, and lives forever" (113).

These passages, which might be multiplied from contemporary literature, make it evident that the phrase, *born of Mary the Virgin*, cannot be weakened into a mere assertion of the reality of the birth of Jesus of a particular historic woman named Mary, over against Marcion.

> It is very strange that Dr. McGiffert can say: "'Born of Mary the Virgin' . . . shows that the author wished simply to identify her" (p. 125). For that purpose it might have been said: *Mary of Nazareth*, or *Mary the wife of Joseph*, or simply *Mary*, as does Ignatius in one passage. The phrase *Mary the Virgin*, identifies Mary by the definite article as the well-known Virgin, the Virgin of the Gospels; and implies the virginity stated in those Gospels. It is, indeed, quite probable that it means even more than that: namely, the perpetual virginity of Mary, as the Roman Church has held from the beginning.

It is difficult to see how any one can read in succession Justin against Trypho, Irenæus against Heresies, Hippolytus's *Refutation of all Heresies*, and Tertullian's *De carne Christi*, writings that cover the whole period from the third decade of the second century to the same decade of the third century, overlapping one another in linked succession, without observing that the most essential point in the argument against Jew and heretic, during all that period, was just the *Virgin Birth of our Lord.*

> The Jews did not assert that Joseph was the father of Jesus; but that His father was a soldier named Pandera, and that Jesus was born of fornication. *Cf.* Origen *c. Celsus*, I, 28. But it is evident that the story is a slander, and that the name *Pandera*, or *Pantherus*, בן פנדרא, of the Talmud, (Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch*, 272), is only a formation from the Greek παρθένος, *virgin*, and so *Ben Parthena* is the *Virgin's Son.*

The only Christians that denied the virgin birth were *Ebionites*, who held that Jesus was only a man, and *Gnostics*, who distinguished between the man, born Jesus, and the Christ, that descended upon him, and took possession of him subsequently. And it was just this conflict with Jews and Ebionites which was the earliest battle Christianity had to fight.

The argument of Justin with Trypho carries us to Ephesus, in the third decade of the second century, and to the cities of Asia Minor, where Polycarp, Papias, and the elders who were taught by the Apostles were still living; and shows us clearly what were the points of controversy between Jews and Christians at that time: and an essential question in dispute was just the Virgin Birth; for upon that depended whether Jesus was simply a man, or really divine as Justin argues. Undoubtedly the same conflict between Jews and Christians was constantly going on in Rome; and it is therefore altogether improbable that the Roman Creed, in mentioning *the birth of Mary the Virgin*, could have failed to convey the Christian idea of Luke's, the Roman, Gospel, and of Justin, who taught in Rome against the Jews and Gnostics just about the time to which we can trace the Old Roman Creed in Literature.

It is quite true that the Apostolic Fathers, with the exception of Ignatius, do not mention the Virgin Birth; but this is no more remarkable than its omission from the Pauline Epistles in the New Testament, and was doubtless for similar reasons. But it is mentioned very distinctly in Ignatius:

"For our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary, according to a dispensation, of the seed of David, but also of the Holy Ghost" (*Ep. ad. Eph.*, 18).

This, indeed, is nearer to the Creed of the fourth century than anything in Tertullian, Irenæus, or Justin. So also: "And hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary, and her childbearing, and likewise also the death of the Lord" (19). Again: "Persuaded as touching our Lord, that He is truly of the race of David according to the flesh, but Son of God *by the divine will* and power, *truly born of a virgin*, and baptized by John," etc. (*Ep. ad. Smyrn.*, 1).

This certainly was the faith of the Church of Antioch at the beginning of the second century, a church in which St. Peter and St. Paul had ministered; and it is certain that Ignatius knew the disciples of these Apostles, and doubtless some of the first generation of Christians, who were still living in Antioch and Asia, at the close of the first century.

There can be no doubt that the doctrine of the Virgin Birth and the conception by the Holy Spirit, is based upon the statements of the Gospel of Luke; although Irenæus and Justin undoubtedly refer to Matthew, when they represent the Virgin Birth as in fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah 7, as Matthew does. This doctrine is absent from Mark, and the Pauline Epistles, and even from later writings of the New Testament, such as Hebrews and the Johan-

nine writings. This entire situation must now be considered:

It is evident that the Virgin Birth was not included in the preaching of St. Peter and his associates in the early days of the founding of the Church in Jerusalem and Palestine. We have already noted in that preaching the other five redemptive acts or states of Christ. What does this silence mean? The argument from silence depends for its use, *first*, upon the question whether the matter came fairly within the scope of the author's argument; and, *second*, upon whether a good reason may be assigned for its omission.[1] We cannot say that these early preachers were bound to preach the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. They were witnesses of the resurrection; they testified to what they themselves had seen and known, and the relation of these things to the Old Testament Scriptures, in order to show that Jesus was indeed the Messiah of the Old Testament. It was not necessary to mention the Virgin Birth for that purpose. Furthermore, there were good reasons not to mention the Virgin Birth, even if these Apostles were aware of it at the time; because it was not a doctrine suitable to proclaim in public in the first days of Christianity. It was *esoteric*, for the Christian community; not to be made public, and so expose the Virgin during her lifetime, and the early Christians, to the blasphemous calumny which did arise so soon as the doctrine of the Virgin Birth was

[1] *V.* Briggs, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 307 *seq.*

made public; and which, as any prudent man could see, was certain to arise. I do not insist here that the Apostles at that time knew of the Virgin Birth; but I do say that, if they knew it, they would not have publicly proclaimed it; but would have retained it for esoteric teaching, on the same principle on which Jesus acted, when He refrained from declaring His Messiahship till late in His ministry, and even then commanded the Twelve to keep this knowledge to themselves.[1]

The Gospel of Mark, the earliest Gospel, the Gospel of St. Peter, very naturally represents this situation. It limits itself to the testimony of St. Peter and to the Galilean ministry, and knows but little of Perean, Samaritan, or Jerusalem ministries of Jesus; and it has nothing to say of Jesus before His baptism. What does this silence mean?

Does it mean that Mark knew nothing whatever of the early life of Jesus before His baptism, or that St. Peter knew nothing of it? That is incredible, when one considers that Mark was a native of Jerusalem, acquainted with Mary the Virgin and the Twelve, and an especial assistant of St. Peter. The early Christians were accustomed to assemble at the house of Mary, the mother of Mark, in Jerusalem, in the time of the persecution of Herod; and St. Peter, when he escaped from prison, went immediately there (Acts 12^{12}).

It is not possible that Peter could have been altogether ignorant of the birth and early life of Jesus,

[1] Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 91 *seq.*

for he was a Galilean, familiarly acquainted with Mary the Virgin, during Jesus' entire ministry and subsequently to His resurrection, also with His near relatives James and Jude; and he had several times with Jesus visited Nazareth. Why then this silence as to the birth of Jesus? Why does Mark say nothing whatever about His birth and early life? May there not have been a good reason for it? May this not have been simply because he could not write of the birth of Jesus without considering the nature of His birth, which he could not do without saying more about this great mystery than it was prudent to say at the time? He who, at the beginning of his Gospel, makes Jesus Christ the Son of God, fulfilling the prediction of Malachi as to the theophanic angel of Yahweh and of Isaiah as to the advent of Yahweh Himself, if he wrote of that advent at all, must have written of it as a divine advent, and not merely as the birth of a man in the ordinary way. The argument from silence does not favor his ignorance of the Virgin Birth; and, while it does not directly favor his knowledge of the Virgin Birth, it does favor the opinion that he regarded the birth as a divine advent of such a mysterious character that it was not prudent at that time to write about it; and, if we think of so much, is it not the most natural conclusion, that it was just the Virgin Birth that made him reticent as to the birth altogether?

When now we turn to the Epistles of St. Paul, we have to notice that the most of these were also writ-

ten in the early days of Christianity, prior to his Roman imprisonment, the last of these the Epistle to the Romans. When we compare these Epistles with the Epistles of the Roman captivity, we see in the former a reticence even as to the divinity of Christ, which comes out by implication rather than direct statement. If that is true of Christ's divinity, it would be still more true of a virgin birth, if St. Paul knew of it. He had battles enough on his hands, without imprudently involving himself in a contest with slanderers and blasphemers of Christ. St. Paul is reticent also as to the birth and early life of Christ. In his preaching in the Book of Acts, reported by Luke, he is as silent as to the birth of Christ as was St. Peter.

In his earliest Epistle, that to the Galatians, just before the Council at Jerusalem, St. Paul proclaims Jesus as the Messiah, the promised seed of Abraham. He says also: "When the fulness of the time came, God *sent forth* His Son, born of a woman, born under the Law, that He might redeem them which were under the Law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" (4^{4-5}). He does not say, *born of a virgin*, but *born of a woman;* and he does say, *God sent forth His Son* to be born of a woman, just as in the next clause he says, *God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts.* And so the birth of Jesus was not only of a woman, but a *mission* from God the Father. And it is just this *divine mission* that unfolds in the teaching of St. Paul.[1]

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Incarnation*, pp. 63 *seq.*

In I Corinthians he represents Jesus the Messiah as pre-existing as the Spiritual Rock of Israel in the wilderness (10^{1-4}), as the original image after which Adam was created (11^{3} *seq.*), as the one *Lord*, through whom all things were made (8^{6}).[1]

In chapter fifteen he makes an antithesis between Adam as the first Adam, and Christ as the second Adam.

> "The first man Adam became a living soul; the last Adam a life-giving spirit. Howbeit that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is sensuous; then that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth earthy; the second man is of heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly" (15^{45-49}; *v.* Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 116 *seq.*).

There is a considerable difference of opinion among scholars as to the question when the second Adam became *a life-giving spirit* and *of heaven*. The general opinion refers it to the resurrection of Christ, with the view that he was born with a sensuous, earthy body, but rose from the dead with a spiritual, heavenly body, with life-giving power. On the other hand, Baur, Pfleiderer, Beyschlag, Schmiedel, *et al.* think of the pre-existent ideal archetypal second Adam, coming from heaven with a life-giving spirit; and the late Principal Edwards simply refers it to the Incarnation. The antithesis between the two Adams certainly favors an antithesis of original nature.

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 97 *seq.*

If this is so, then the second Adam was born into this world *from heaven*, and was not simply a descendant of the first Adam. He also was possessed from the beginning with *a life-giving spirit*, which the first Adam had not, and which He brought with Him from heaven. This is in accord with the teaching of the previous chapter of this Epistle, and of St. Paul's teaching in Romans.

In the Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul represents that Jesus Christ "*was born of the seed of David according to the flesh*," was "*declared to be the Son of God, with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead*" (Rom. 1 [3-4]).

Here we have the same antithesis as in I Cor. 15, between the *flesh*, which He received as born of the seed of David, and *the spirit of holiness*, which He had as the Son of God. That *spirit of holiness* is the same as the *life-giving spirit* of Corinthians.

It was latent during His earthly life, but declared and made manifest at His resurrection.

This implies a divine activity in connection with His birth, as well as a human connection with the seed of David. This is still further evident from Rom. 5[12 *seq.*], where the antithesis is again drawn between the first and the second Adam.[1]

All mankind are classed together as sharing in the inheritance of *sin and death*. Jesus Christ stands apart from the human race in this respect. He does not share in this inheritance of sin and death. He, on the other hand, is the second Adam, who by His

[1] *V. Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 151–2.

righteous obedience to God constitutes a redeemed race of mankind. He had, when He entered the world, *a spirit of holiness* in antithesis with sinful *flesh*. He had *a life-giving spirit* in antithesis with *a mortal nature*. He had human nature, but a nature which was entirely apart from the inheritance of sin and death. This inheritance is not essential to human nature; but is rather a corruption of human nature, which Christ had as His mission to overcome. Accordingly, St. Paul says: "What the Law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and (as an offering) for sin, condemned sin in the flesh; that the ordinance of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit" (8^{3-4}). Jesus Christ had the flesh of man, and His flesh was in the likeness of the flesh of all other men; but He differed from all other men in the quality of that flesh, which in all others was sinful, but in Him alone was *sinless and holy*.

St. Paul does not, in these passages, teach a virgin birth; but he does imply something different from ordinary birth, and indeed such a unique birth that it separates Jesus from the inheritance of sin and death, which all mankind derive from Adam; and this important particular distinguishes Him from them.

St. Paul says nothing of Mary and nothing of Joseph. He is only concerned to show that Jesus was the son of David, and son of Abraham; and that, though He was also a son of Adam, He was

separate from Adam and all his race as a second Adam, endowed with original life-giving power and holiness, which was born with Him, not derived from human ancestry, but original to Him when He became the second Adam.

When now we turn to the Epistles of the Imprisonment we find a more advanced Christology.

According to Phil. 2^{5-11} Christ, being in the form of God, took *the form of a servant;* being on an equality with God, He was *made in the likeness of men*, and was *found in fashion as a man.*[1] This clearly implies that the pre-existing Son of God voluntarily became man, as truly man as He had ever been God. No attention is paid to the human side of His birth, but only to the divine side. His birth into the world was a coming of God into the world. He was a man in form, in likeness and in fashion, and in reality as well. And yet that which was prior to His humanity, and which came with Him when He assumed humanity, was infinitely more than His human nature, for it was divine nature.

In the two Pastoral Epistles, written as to their substance in the interval between the first and second imprisonments of Paul, and in the second Epistle to Timothy, written at Rome just before his death (c. 65–67), St. Paul represents the entrance of the Son of God into the world as an *Epiphany*, in antithesis with His second advent, which is a *second Epiphany*. This gives us the last writing of St. Paul on this subject.

[1] Briggs, *Incarnation*, pp. 107 *seq.*

He represents that God "saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before times eternal, but hath now been manifested by the Epiphany of our Saviour, Christ Jesus, who abolished death, and brought life and incorruption to light through the Gospel" (II Tim. 1^{8-10}).[1]

The statement that He abolished *death* and brought *life* and *incorruption* to light, is here connected with the Epiphany. We are reminded of the life-giving spirit of Corinthians. The *incorruption* can only apply to the flesh in which He was manifested (I Tim. 3^{16}). We are also reminded of St. Peter's words (Acts 2^{31}), applying the sixteenth Psalm to the Resurrection of Jesus: *Nor did His flesh see corruption.* The Son of God, when He was manifested in the flesh, manifested or brought to light an incorruptible life. His flesh was human flesh. It was in the likeness of sinful flesh, but it was not sinful flesh, and so was not under the dominion of sin and death. So His flesh was in the likeness of corruptible flesh, but it was incorruptible.[2]

Thus St. Paul in his various Epistles, whilst he lays stress upon the real humanity of Christ as Son of David and of Abraham, yet at the same time makes a sharp antithesis between Him, as the second Adam, and the first Adam and all his race, not only in that he makes Him divine as a pre-existing divine being,

[1] Briggs, *Incarnation*, pp. 127 *seq.*
[2] Briggs, *Incarnation*, pp. 141–2.

but also in that he makes Him as man possessed of a nature with qualities altogether different from those inherited by the sons of Adam: namely, *sinless flesh*, *incorruptible flesh*, and a *life-giving spirit of holiness*. These could not have been derived from His human ancestry, either on their positive or on their negative side. He could not fail to inherit sinfulness, corruption, and death, unless there was something more in His human origination than human generation. He could not have possessed these antithetical qualities—holiness, incorruption, a life-giving spirit—unless God Himself had imparted them to His human nature. All this is implied in the teaching of St. Paul, though not definitely stated. No other explanation of such an origin is known, except that given in Luke's Gospel—*conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary*. If St. Paul knew it not, he was certainly very near it; and he implies in his teaching something so near it and like it that no one has ever been able to suggest anything in substitution for it, that would not undermine and destroy his entire theology.

We are now prepared to study the narrative of St. Luke, and his statements as to the birth of our Lord. We must consider, however, prior to this: (1) that Luke was the "beloved physician" of St. Paul in Rome, and that, as a disciple of St. Paul, he was familiar with most, if not all, those Epistles of St. Paul that we have studied, and certainly with that most characteristic doctrine of St. Paul, the second

Adam from heaven; and (2) that St. Luke says at the beginning of his Gospel:

> "Forasmuch as *many* have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were *eye-witnesses* and *ministers* of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things *accurately* from the first, to write unto thee *in order*, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the *certainty* concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed."

Luke had before him (1) *many written narratives*. (2) He had been instructed by St. Paul, and probably also by St. Peter and others of those eye-witnesses and ministers of the word to whom he referred. He had many *oral sources* for his statements. (3) He had taken great pains: (*a*) to trace the course of all things from the first; (*b*) to do this accurately; (*c*) to write it in an orderly arrangement; (*d*) his purpose was to give certainty, and accordingly not to give doubtful, but only *certain* facts and truths. St. Luke shows by his two writings, the Gospel and Acts, by internal evidence from these writings, that he succeeded in his purpose. He was a well-trained man, a physician, and altogether competent for his task.

St. Luke's Gospel depends both on written and on oral sources. The written sources were certainly: (1) Mark's Gospel, upon which he chiefly depends for the Galilean ministry and the story of the baptism and the passion; (2) the Logia of Matthew, upon which he depends for the discourses of Jesus. Two writings do not justify the term *many*. We must

therefore think of others. Some think of a written source for the Perean ministry; but the events therein mentioned are so meagre that this is doubtful. However, written sources are evident for the story of the infancy and childhood of Jesus. For this narrative is Hebraic in style. It consists of a series of Canticles, connected by a prose narrative. These Canticles have been used in the Christian Church from the beginning, in public worship. They are: (1) the Annunciation to Zacharias, (2) the *Ave Maria*, (3) the Song of Elizabeth, (4) the *Magnificat*, (5) the *Benedictus*, (6) the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and (7) the *Nunc Dimittis*. These are real poems, translated into Greek from a Hebrew original. They are Hebrew poetry, all with measured trimeter lines except the *Benedictus*, which seems to be pentameter, and the longer pieces have strophical organization. They evidently were not composed by Luke, but were found by him in use in a Hebrew community, and were translated, edited, and explained by him in his Gospel.[1] Therefore, as the Hebraic sources of the Gospel, they must be much older than the Gospel. The Gospel was written not long after the destruction of Jerusalem, not later than 80 A. D., possibly within a decade, not more than two decades, after the martyrdom of St. Paul.

These Canticles, composed in Hebrew for a Hebrew community, could hardly have been later than 70; and, if so, almost certainly before the troubles began—not later than 66, when the war with Rome

[1] Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 41 *seq.*

began, and doubtless earlier still: and so they circulated in the Palestinian community, while James († 60–62), the half-brother of our Lord, was bishop of Jerusalem, or at least his successor Simeon, the son of Cleopas, the brother-in-law of Mary the Virgin, and therefore our Lord's cousin († 107). These chiefs of the Jewish-Christian community, of the immediate family of Jesus, must be held responsible for these Canticles and their use. It is incredible that Luke could have used them without their knowledge or consent; for he tells us that he made *accurate* inquiry, and aimed not at probability but *certainty*.

Now it is just in one of these Canticles, the *Ave Maria*, or *Hail Mary*, and its context, that the Virgin Birth is stated.

This is the narrative, with the Canticle embedded in it:

> "Now in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. And he came in unto her, and said:
>
> "Hail (Mary), thou that art endued with grace!
> The Lord is with thee (thou that art blessed).
>
> "But she was greatly troubled at the saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this might be. And the angel said unto her:
>
> "Fear not, Mary:
> For thou hast found favor with God.
>
> "And behold, thou shalt conceive [in thy womb, and bring forth] a son;
> And thou shalt call His name Jesus.

He shall be a great One;
And He shall be called the Son of the Most High.

"And the Lord [God] will give unto him
The throne of His father David;
And He will reign over the house of Jacob [forever],
And of His kingdom there shall be no end.

"And Mary said unto the angel: How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her:

"The [Holy] Spirit shall come upon thee,
And the Power of the Most High shall overshadow thee:
Wherefore [also] that holy thing that is to be born,
Shall be called the Son of God.

"And behold, Elizabeth, thy kinswoman,
She [also] hath conceived a son in her old age:
And this is the sixth month with her that was called barren:
For no word from God shall be void of power.

"And Mary said (unto the angel):
Behold, the handmaid of the Lord;
Be it unto me according to thy word.
And the angel departed from her."

I have enclosed in brackets words which seem to me to be explanatory additions of Luke, and in parentheses words which seem to have been omitted by Luke.

In this narrative there is first a prose introduction, based on one or more couplets of the poem which have not been used, followed by a couplet of annunciation: then a prose explanation of the fear of Mary, which separates the following couplet, completing the tetrastich, from the previous one. Then two poetical tetrastichs follow. An explanatory prose seam separates these from the two tetrastichs which

complete the annunciation. The poem concludes with a single tetrastich of submission on the part of Mary.

We have seen that we cannot reasonably date the origin of these Canticles, which Luke used in his Gospel, later than 65; and that in that case Simeon, Bishop of Jerusalem and first cousin of the Lord, being the child of Cleopas and Mary, was responsible for them. But James the brother of our Lord, Bishop of Jerusalem, was put to death by the Jews in 60–62; and the Christians were in great peril from that time on, until they fled from Jerusalem to Pella, before Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans. It is altogether probable that these poems were composed in the more peaceful times prior to 60, and that James the brother of our Lord was thus responsible for them.

Luke was with St. Paul in Rome during his first imprisonment, as we judge from the closing chapter of Acts and from Col. 4^{14}; also during the second imprisonment just before his death, according to II Tim. 4^{11}. If he was the author of the *We* source of Acts, as is the general opinion of scholars, he was in Antioch, Jerusalem, and Cæsarea before the journey to Rome.

In my opinion Titus was the author of the *We* source, and Luke first came in contact with St. Paul in Rome. In any case he must have conversed with St. Paul and also with St. Peter, and even with St. Mark, during their stay in Rome: because he was evidently in Rome when all these were there, and it

is incredible to suppose that he would not have conferred with them respecting such important matters as the Virgin Birth of our Lord. It seems probable that Luke journeyed to Palestine immediately after the death of St. Paul to escape the terrible persecution then begun by Nero. There is no historic trace of him after II Tim. 4^{11}. We do not know where he wrote his Gospel, or the exact year of it, but only what he tells us of it himself in the preface, and what can be learned from internal evidence, and the use of the Gospel by others. It seems, however, to have become the Roman Gospel, and not to have had much use in the East before the end of the second century.

We must now turn to the Gospel of Matthew, for it also has a narrative of the Infancy and of the Virgin Birth. The Gospel of Matthew was not written by Matthew, but was attributed to the Apostle Matthew, because it was based on Matthew's Logia, which gave it its most characteristic material. Matthew, like Luke, uses Mark for the narrative, especially of the Galilean ministry. Matthew's story of the infancy of Jesus is different from that of Luke, apart from the Virgin Birth, which is essentially the same. These stories of the infancy doubtless came from sources not written but oral, with the exception of that respecting the birth. That story in Matthew has also a Hebraic poetic basis.

The story of Matthew is as follows:

"Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, before they

came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. And Joseph her husband, being a righteous man, and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily. But when he thought on these things, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying:

"Joseph, thou son of David,
Fear not to take unto thee Mary [thy wife]:
For that which is begotten in her is of the [Holy] Spirit.
And she [Mary] will bear a son:
And thou shalt call His name Jesus;
For He will save His people from their sins.

"Now all this is come to pass, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, 'Behold, the virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son; and they shall call his name Immanuel; which is, being interpreted, God with us.' And Joseph arose from his sleep, and did as the angel of the Lord commanded him, and took unto him his wife; and knew her not till she had brought forth a son: and he called his name Jesus."[1]

This narrative of the Virgin Birth is based on a poem, containing the same facts as the poem at the basis of Luke, although there is much less of it. But the comment of the evangelist on the poem is much more elaborate than that of Luke. It is from the point of view of Joseph. It states his anxieties and how they were relieved by the vision of the angel. It also, in accordance with the method of this Gospel, makes the Virgin Birth a fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (7^{14}). It then goes on to state that Joseph did as he was commanded, and had no sexual connection with Mary prior to the birth of the child; so that she remained in her virginity, at least

[1] Mt. 1 $^{18-25}$. *V.* Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 47, and *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 195 *seq.*, for an interpretation of the Prophecy.

until the birth of Jesus. The little poetic extract is here from the annunciation to Joseph; whereas that given by Luke is from the annunciation to Mary. Do these both belong to the same poem, or are they extracts from different poems? If it were not for these poetic extracts, it might be supposed that the annunciation was the same, and that in one tradition it was made to Mary and in the other to Joseph: but with these poetic extracts at the basis of both narratives that is impossible; for the poetic extracts must have given either the one or the other, and those who used the extracts followed them in this matter. We can only think, therefore, either that essentially the same communication was made in one part of a longer poem to Mary, and then, later on in the poem, to Joseph; or else that the poems themselves were different, and that two different early Christian poets sang of the same theme from different points of view. But in either case we have the interesting situation, that Matthew and Luke are entirely independent in their narratives of the same event; and that they used either the same poem, or a different one, in different ways. We have, therefore, two independent witnesses to the Virgin Birth, depending on either one, or two, earlier witnesses, whom they did not follow without consideration and inquiry, as both the narratives show; the results leading these two evangelists in quite different directions.

Now the Gospel of Matthew was written for a Jewish-Christian community. It shows, by its style

and attitude toward the Pharisees and the Sadducean priesthood, that the author was deeply incensed against them. This is best explained from the fact that he had, in his own experience, known that same bitterness and malignity which appears in their attitude toward Jesus. In other words he knew of the martyrdom of James and the persecution of the Christians of Jerusalem by the Jews during the sixties, before the destruction of Jerusalem. His use of the words of Jesus as to the destruction of Jerusalem and the flight of the Christians favors one familiar with these terrors. The Gospel was probably written just before, or immediately after, the destruction of the city by the Romans, and probably in Pella, whither the Christians had fled from Jerusalem. The poetic source of Matthew must therefore have been in the early sixties, if not before.

If these poems originated in the late fifties, or early sixties, in a community under the headship of the nearest living relatives of Jesus, what is their historic derivation? Joseph died before Jesus began His ministry, for he is nowhere mentioned as living in any of the Gospels. He was doubtless a mature man when he married Mary, and she was in all probability his second wife. Mary appears frequently in the Gospels. She also was present in the gathering of the disciples in the upper room in Jerusalem, when the successor of Judas was chosen (Acts 1^{14}). It is probable that she continued in life during the stirring times in Jerusalem for some years after Pentecost, but that she had retired to Galilee either with her

step-sons, or under the charge of St. John (John 19[27]), for she is not mentioned again in the Jerusalem community. When St. James appears at the head of the Church in Jerusalem (Acts 12[17]), without Mary, it is possible that she still lived in Galilee, but it is probable that she was no longer living and no longer needed his loving care. Mary was probably not far from fifty years of age at the death of Jesus. If she lived till just before the persecution of Herod, when James first appears in Jerusalem, she would have been over sixty years old at her death. It is improbable that any one would have written these poems in the lifetime of Mary. She would have been exposed to slander and persecution by the vindictive Jews of the time. We may be safe, therefore, in the opinion that these poems were written not later than 60, and not earlier than 40, probably somewhere in the fifties.

It is altogether probable that Mary would have confided the facts as to the birth of Jesus to her intimates, to some of the women mentioned in the Gospels, and especially to St. John, the intimate of Jesus, to whom Jesus had especially commended her, and to St. James. The resurrection of Jesus her son, the descent of the divine Spirit at Pentecost upon her as well as upon the Twelve, the conviction of the apostolic community that her son was the Messiah, the Son of God, must have recalled to her mind the annunciation, the supernatural conception and birth, and all the other extraordinary circumstances, such as are recorded in the Gospel of Luke, if there was

any reality in them. They would then have been esoteric facts, known to a few among the leaders of the Christian community; and they would not have been made known till after the death of Mary, and then only esoterically, in reliable Christian circles. It would still be some time before they would stir the soul of a Christian poet. It would be, then, in the middle of the fifties that we should be most likely to expect such poems. The time between the death of Jesus and the origin of these poems could hardly have been more than thirty years, not more than twenty after the death of Mary, and during the lifetime of James and Simeon, and other members of the family of Jesus, and acquaintances of Mary who had known her from her earliest years. Thus the story can be reasonably traced back step by step to its origin. There can be no reasonable objection to it, except that it brings us face to face with a supernatural birth.

It has been urged that the story of the Virgin Birth was mythical or legendary in its origin. But myths and legends all have some kind of a basis, and are usually a growth. They have certain characteristics which enable the critic to determine them.[1] When an uncritical sceptic thought that the story of the infancy was a late addition to the Gospels, the theory allowed a moderate amount of time for the myth or legend to unfold. But criticism of the Gospel has made it certain that Luke wrote this part

[1] Briggs, *Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 522 *seq.*

of the Gospel as truly as he wrote any other part; and that these stories were not original to him, but were in written sources as early as the Gospel of Mark and the Logia of Matthew themselves. There was no time for the growth of myth or legend; the story is carried back to the family of Jesus and their responsibility for it cannot be evaded.[1] Were the martyrs James and Simeon, near relatives of Jesus, men of such a character as to permit such a story as the Virgin Birth to become current and authoritative in the Christian community, unless they were sure of it? The integrity of James and Simeon is unimpeachable before the tribunal of history.

Theoretically, one might say that they might have been deceived; but practically, how was it possible for them to have been deceived in such a matter? How could they have countenanced it, if it were at all doubtful?

It is urged by some that it was the prophecy of Immanuel that originated the belief in its fulfilment by Jesus. Such a theory might be suggested by Matthew's use of the prophecy, but certainly not by Luke, who nowhere refers to it. And there is nothing in these poems to suggest any reference to that prediction of Isaiah. The reference to that prophecy in Isaiah is only one of a considerable number, characteristic of the author of our present Matthew, and peculiar to him, and altogether unknown to Luke, and to the sources upon which both Matthew and Luke depended.[2]

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 319 *seq.*
[2] *V.* Briggs, *The Virgin Birth of our Lord*, pp. 15 *seq.*

Efforts have been made to find the origin of the conception of the Virgin Birth in other religions, Greek and even Babylonian. But there is not the slightest trace of such an origin in the narratives of Luke and Matthew, or in the poems embedded in their narratives. Doubtless there were many sons begotten by the gods of mythology of virgins; but in all cases by sexual connection of these gods with these virgins, and so no *virgin conception* or *virgin birth;* for such virgins lose their virginity by sexual union with these gods. The Virgin Birth of Jesus was a conception without any kind of sexual connection whatever. The Virgin Birth of our Lord is thus an altogether different conception from that of the sons of the heathen gods; and one that was unique in itself, and altogether without preparation or analogy to suggest it to the mind of any person or writer.

All these suggestions of sceptics or agnostics are merely makeshifts, altogether unsubstantial, that cannot endure the least breath of criticism, made for the sole purpose of getting rid of the reality of the Virgin Birth of Jesus. They are not in the interest of historic truth or fact. They were not invented in the interest of Biblical Criticism. They do not, and cannot be made to, harmonize with the results of Biblical Criticism, which condemns them root and branch.

There is, in the historic environment of the Jewish-Christian community, and in the internal dissensions in that community, a sufficient explanation of the emphasis upon the Virgin Birth in that com-

munity. As the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles make plain, the Apostles had to contend with the Judaizers among the primitive Christians, who recognized Jesus as the Messiah, but insisted upon the observance of the Law, and regarded Christianity as only a reformed Judaism. This party subsequently separated from the Church as an Ebionite sect. It was just this doctrinal fact of the Virgin Birth which made the Ebionite position untenable. Ebionites could not accept the Virgin Birth without the recognition that Jesus was more than Messiah. The Palestinian community, under the leadership of James and Simeon, overcame them in the very best way, by bringing before the infant Church the facts as to the conception by the divine Spirit and the Virgin Birth. The doctrine was Palestinian in its origin, and early there, because it was needed there at an earlier date than elsewhere.

We have now to consider supposed inconsistencies between the story of the Virgin Birth and other statements of the Gospels. It is objected that Jesus is said to have been the son of Joseph, the carpenter of Nazareth (Mt. 13^{55}, Luke 4^{22}, John 1^{45}, 6^{42}). How else could the people speak of him? They certainly would not have been informed by Joseph and Mary of the Virgin Birth. It is significant that two of these statements are in Matthew and Luke, who certainly found no inconsistency between them and the Virgin Birth which they declare. The other two are in John, who clearly sets forth the incarnation of the Son of God, and possibly the Virgin Birth also

(*v.* p. 97 *seq.*); while Mark, who gives no report of the Virgin Birth, yet abstains from calling Jesus the son of Joseph, but says only *son of Mary* in the passage parallel to that of Matthew's *son of Joseph* (Mark 6^{3}).

There are two genealogical tables giving the ancestry of Jesus, the one to show that he was a son of David, the other to show that he was a son of Adam.

They differ so much that they must have had a different origin. The ancient explanation of Julius Africanus († 240) is, that the one gives the natural descent, the other the legal descent. But both were given by authors who set forth the Virgin Birth; and they certainly saw no more inconsistency with it than St. Paul did between the birth of a woman and the pre-existence of the Son of God, who became the second Adam from heaven.

The genealogy of Matthew closes with the words:

> "Jacob begat Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ" (Mt. 1^{16}).

Luke begins his genealogy by:

> "Jesus Himself, when he began, was about thirty years of age, being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph, the [son] of Heli," etc. (Luke 3^{23}).

There is no other text of Luke than this which qualifies the term *son of Joseph;* but even if we could think that "*as was supposed*" was a later qualification, *a son of Joseph* here would mean no more than *son of Joseph* in Luke 4^{22}.

The text of Matthew of modern versions is that of the oldest Greek Codices. The text of Matthew, however, varies in a few Greek Codices and Syriac versions. The Curetonian Syriac has:

> "Jacob begat Joseph, him to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, she who begat Jesus the Messiah."

This is sustained by several old Latin Codices. A few years ago an older Syriac text was discovered at Mount Sinai, which reads:

> "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus, called the Messiah."

The opponents of the Virgin Birth seized upon this with eagerness, because they thought that it was the original text, and that it made Joseph the natural father of Jesus. This text has been carefully considered by the best textual critics: some accept it, and some do not; but whether it be correct or not, it does not affect the question of the Virgin Birth, for as Allen, who accepts the Sinaitic text as original, shows in his recent *Commentary on St. Matthew*, the word *begat* is used throughout the table in the sense of legal, not of physical descent. No other opinion is possible in view of the artificial character of the genealogy, which is divided into three groups of fourteen generations each, in which there are several omissions; and also in view of the fact that some of the names given are not in the line of physical descent but by legal inheritance of the throne of David. The author follows the narratives of the Old Testament, especially of the Chronicler, and adheres to

the royal line of kings, which makes it evident that he is concerned with the dynastic inheritance of the Messianic promise: while Luke in his genealogy does not follow the line of kings but the line of physical descent, leading on, through Nathan the son of David, until it becomes the royal line because of the failure of Jeconiah to have a son (Je. 22^{30}); so that the line of Solomon became extinct in him, and the line of Nathan came into the inheritance in Shealtiel. He also had no sons; but his nephew, Zerubbabel, became his adopted son and heir to the throne. In fact, Jeconiah did not *beget* Shealtiel, and Shealtiel did not beget Zerubbabel, physically, but only legally. The word *ἐγέννησεν*, in at least two instances, means legal descent: it may therefore properly have the same meaning with Joseph and Jesus. Furthermore, it is impossible to separate the genealogy from the Gospel. It was evidently composed by the author on the basis of the Old Testament narratives, and prefixed by him to the story of the Virgin Birth; so that there could, in his mind, be no inconsistency between them.

The genealogy of Luke has an entirely different origin, and was doubtless based upon records preserved in the family of Jesus, which is therefore another evidence that Luke had consulted them in the preparation of his narrative, and so with regard to the Virgin Birth itself. How could he consult them about the ancestry of Jesus and omit to question them whether the poetic story of the Virgin Birth was true or not?

We have been compelled to go into all these details in order to hunt the opponents of the Virgin Birth out of all the holes and corners in which, like rats, they take refuge. It is with them anything and everything, however trifling in importance, which may be used to put suspicion on the story of the Virgin Birth.

We are now prepared to examine the Biblical statements themselves, and to consider their significance. In the poem of Luke, three things are clear:

(1) *The agency of the divine Spirit in theophany:*

> "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee,
> The power of the Most High shall overshadow thee."

(2) *Mary's conception of a son, while still a virgin:*

> "Behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son."

(3) *That which was conceived and born was the holy one, the Son of God:*

> "He shall be a great One:
> And He shall be called the Son of the Most High."

> "That holy thing, that is to be born,
> Shall be called the Son of God."

The same appears in Matthew: (1) "That which is begotten in her is of the Holy Spirit"; (2) "He knew her not till she had brought forth a son"; (3) "Thou shalt call His name Jesus; for He will save His people from their sins."

Mary was a virgin; she conceived her son Jesus, not by the ordinary method of human generation, but by the theophanic presence and power of the divine Spirit; and the resultant was a holy seed, a Son of God, a Saviour for Israel, the Son of David, the Messiah. The origination of the holy seed was therefore not human but divine. Mary the Virgin conceives or receives the holy seed from God. She conceives it, nourishes it, and at the appointed time gives birth to it, as the holy child Jesus. This is exactly what enters into the Apostles' Creed: at first, in the simple statement, *born of the Virgin Mary*, which implied, to those who knew the Gospels, all the rest; and then later, enlarged into *born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary;* and still later, to be more strictly in accord with the Gospels, *conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.*

The Epistle to the Hebrews was written by some one intermediate between Paul and John, like Apollos or Barnabas. It was known and used by the Roman Clement, and thus was written considerably before 95. The author was a contemporary of Timothy, of whom he writes as brother (13^{23}). It was written from Italy, probably not Rome, but from one of the Greek cities of the sea-coast (13^{24}). There is probably a reference to the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul in 13^{7}, and to the persecution of Nero in 10^{32}, in which his readers had shared.

It was probably written in the late sixties, before the destruction of Jerusalem, which could hardly have escaped mention in the frequent references to

the city, and the temple and its institutions. This Epistle is advanced in its Christology beyond that of Colossians and the Pastorals. It makes an antithesis at the beginning between Jesus Christ and all the prophets, in that He was Son of God, higher than the angels, the "appointed heir of all things, through whom also He made the worlds; who being the effulgence of His glory, and the very image of His substance, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had made a purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high" (1 [1] *seq.*). The entrance of Christ into the world is thus God, speaking in one who is Son and making a purification of sins. The Epistle gives its statement as to the Incarnation:

> "Since then the children are sharers in flesh and blood, He also Himself in like manner partook of the same; that through death He might bring to naught him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and might deliver all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage. For verily not of angels doth He take hold, but He taketh hold of the seed of Abraham. Wherefore it behooved Him in all things to be made like unto His brethren, that He might become a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make propitiation for the sins of the people" (2^{14-17}).

According to this Epistle the pre-existent Son of God partook of *the flesh and blood of the seed of Abraham, and was made like His brethren, the sons of Israel.* There is, however, no reference made to the mode of the incarnation, except that in it the pre-existent Son of God was both active and passive; active, in that He Himself *took hold of the seed of Abraham,*

took share in flesh and blood; and also passive, in that He *was made like His brethren.*

This implies more than birth by ordinary generation; namely, birth by divine origination. If it does not imply *birth of a virgin*, it does imply conception by divine presence and power.

The First Epistle of John represents that Jesus was the pre-existing Word of Life, but also that "*the life was manifested*, and we have seen, and bear witness, and declare unto you the life, the eternal [life], which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us" (1^{1-2}). This manifestation was "in the flesh" (4^{2}), *that had been heard, seen, and handled by the Apostles* (1^{1})—thus audible, visible, and tangible. It is plain that while the author does not mention the mode of entrance into the world, he does distinctly state that Jesus Christ was *God* and also *flesh of man;* in other words, *God manifested in the flesh.*

The Prologue of the Gospel of John gives the highest attainment of New Testament Christology. It was a Christian hymn to the Logos, composed for use in the Christian congregations of Asia, toward the close of the first Christian century.[1] This hymn represents Christ as the pre-existing Word of God, the Creator, the Life, and the Light, with God and also God. The incarnation is *a coming into the world of the true Light* (v. 9), *a coming into His own inheritance* (v. 11), *a becoming flesh and tabernacling among us* (v. 14), *the declaring of the Father* (v. 18).

Here nothing is said of any kind of human origina-

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 495 *seq.*

tion. The origination of the human flesh is divine. He came Himself, by His own personal action, into the world and to the people of Israel. *He becomes flesh;* He tabernacles among them, in a tabernacle of glory, just as truly as did Yahweh in the Mosaic tabernacle. His flesh is the tabernacle of God here, as in Hebrews it is the veil of the Holy of Holies.

There is, however, a passage in this Prologue, which the Ancients interpreted as referring to the incarnation; but which does not seem so to refer in the Greek text based on the oldest Codices. V. [13] reads in these Codices: "Who not of blood, nor of the will of flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God were born." This is plural, and is a further interpretation of the previous v. [12]: "But as many as received Him, to them gave He the right to become children of God, to those who believe on His name." It is, then, interpreted as referring to regeneration, which is not by entering a second time into the mother's womb; of blood, of the will of the flesh, of the will of man, by natural generation; but a birth from above, by the divine Spirit, *of God.* This is the text of the earliest existing Greek Codices, the Vatican, and the Sinaitic of the fourth century, and of most later ones. But the Christian writers of the second and third centuries had a different text. Thus Tertullian (c. 209), in *De carne Christi* (c. 24), has the singular, *natus est,* and refers it to Christ, saying:

"Again, there is an answer to *Ebion* in the Scripture, 'born, not of blood, nor of the will of man, but of God.'" He conceives that the Ebionite view

of the mere humanity of Christ is overcome by this passage, which represents that Christ was not born of the will of man, but of God. This is based on an earlier passage in the same writing (c. 19), where he asks:

> "What, then, is the meaning of this passage, 'born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God'? I shall make more use of this passage, after I have confuted those who have tampered with it. They maintain that it was written thus: 'who *were* born,' . . . as if designating those who were before mentioned as 'believing on His name'; in order to point out the existence of that mysterious seed of the elect and spiritual, which they appropriate to themselves. . . . The expression is in the singular number, as referring to the Lord. '*He* was born of God.' And very properly, because Christ is the Word of God; and with the Word the Spirit of God, and by the Spirit the power of God, and whatsoever else appertains to God. As flesh, however, He is not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of man, because it was by the will of God that the Word was made flesh. . . . We thus understand that what is denied is, the Lord's birth after sexual intercourse (as is suggested by the phrase, 'the will of man and of the flesh'), not his (nativity) from a mother's womb."

So Irenæus, in his treatise against heresies:

> "For 'not by the will of the flesh, nor by the will of man, but by the will of God, was the Word made flesh'; and that we should not imagine that Jesus was one, and Christ another, but should know them to be one and the same" (III. 16^2).
>
> "He who 'was not born either by the will of the flesh, or by the will of man,' is the Son of Man, this is Christ, the Son of the Living God" (III, 19^2).

Justin, in his *Apology* (c. 150):

> "He who should appear would have blood, though not of the seed of man, but of the power of God" (I, 32).

So also in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, which, though written in 155–160, gives a discussion presumed to have taken place c. 135. Here I, 54 is the same as the *Apology*, I, 32; so 63. Also 61 and 76 make similar allusions.

> "Since His blood did not spring from the seed of man, but from the will of God."

This reading of John 1^{13} is advocated by Blass, the chief philological critic of the New Testament in our time;[1] and by Resch, who, more than any one else, uses the early Christian writers for evidence as to New Testament writings.[2] The earliest Greek Codices we have are not earlier than 331; but Tertullian uses a Latin text in use before 209, Irenæus a Greek text earlier than 180, and Justin a Greek text earlier than 150. As Justin and Irenæus both came from Asia, Justin being in Ephesus about 135, and Irenæus about 150, they knew the Asian text of John, two hundred years earlier than our oldest Greek manuscripts; they knew manuscripts of John within fifty years of its completion, and in the very place where it was written. This gives to their evidence very great weight. Besides, rhetorically and poetically there can be no doubt that this reading is preferable. It would be easier to make the mistake of adapting it to its context in the plural, than of changing it to the singular in accordance with the more distant subject.

If this passage refers to Christ, then we have a

[1] *Phil. of Gospels*, pp. 234 *seq.*
[2] *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte*, IV, s. 57 *seq.*

reference to the birth of Jesus, and the statement is made that He was not born of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh; that is, by intentional sexual intercourse—as Justin says, of *the seed of man*—but without sexual intercourse, by the will of God. This would then imply *virgin conception* by the power of God.

In any case, however we may interpret the passage, there can be no doubt that the entrance of the Logos into this world was a divine act of entrance; and that the becoming flesh was a voluntary divine act. The author leaves altogether out of view the mother's part in it.

Thus, though conception by the divine Spirit and virgin birth are stated distinctly only in two writings of the New Testament, Matthew and Luke; yet these statements are based on poetic sources, which are of such an early date, and so close to the family of Jesus, that they are worthy of all acceptance. The other writings of the New Testament, while they do not clearly teach or necessarily imply a virgin birth, yet do teach in a most unmistakable manner the entrance of a divine pre-existent being into the world in the flesh of Jesus Christ; and therefore sustain the statement, *conceived by the Holy Spirit.* It is possible to think of an ordinary conception by the power of the divine Spirit; but it is difficult so to do, considering the product: a *holy* seed; *sinless, incorruptible* flesh, and a *life-giving spirit of holiness;* a man, it is true, but different from any other man, in that He was *God-man.* Furthermore, an ordinary conception would

make Jesus' birth no more divine than that of Isaac or John the Baptist.

We have thus traced this doctrinal fact of the Virgin Birth from its origin until it takes its place in the full form in the Apostles' Creed. It had no less meaning in the Creed than it had in the Gospels.

It had rather a richer and a fuller meaning, as the result of a century of conflict with Jews, Ebionites, and Gnostics. As we have already seen, the Christians of the late first century and of the early second century had to maintain the Virgin Birth against both Ebionites and Jews. But they had also, throughout the second century, to maintain it against several groups of Gnostics.

The Ebionites held that Jesus was a man, pure and simple, born of ordinary generation by Joseph. The Jews urged the slander that Jesus was born not of of Joseph, but of fornication. It was necessary for Christians to maintain over against them that Jesus entered this world by a divine act, *conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.*

The Gnostics recognized the divinity of Christ; only they refused to regard Him as divine, prior to His birth or His baptism.

> Thus Cerinthus, in the closing years of the first century: "supposed that Jesus was not generated from a virgin; but that He was born son of Joseph and Mary, just in a manner similar with the rest of men . . . and that after the baptism, Christ, in the form of a dove, came down upon Him, from that absolute sovereignty, which is above all things" (Hippolytus, *Ref. Hær.*, VII, 21). Theodotus of Byzantium held that Jesus "at His baptism in Jordan received Christ, who came from above and descended in form of a dove" (*ibid.*,

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VII, 23). Carpocrates and his followers, of the second century, according to Irenæus: "hold that Jesus was the son of Joseph, and was just like other men, with the exception that He differed from them in this respect: that, inasmuch as His soul was steadfast and pure, He perfectly remembered those things which He had witnessed within the sphere of the unbegotten God. On this account a power descended upon Him from the Father" (Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, I, 25[1]).

Marcion rejected the narrative of the Infancy; and held that Christ descended from above in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, and proceeded to give instruction in the synagogues. He came down unbegotten (Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, IV, 7). His disciple Apelles conceded to Christ real flesh, but held that it was composed of sidereal substance (Hippolytus, *Ref. Hær.*, VII, 26).

The Valentinians held that Christ was born, not of the substance of the Virgin, but that He "passed through Mary, just as water flows through a tube; and there descended upon Him, in the form of a dove at the time of His baptism, that Saviour who belonged to the Pleroma" (Irenæus, I, 7[2]).

These were the heretics who troubled the Church from the last quarter of the first century, throughout the second century, and deep into the third.

Against them Justin and Irenæus, Hippolytus and Tertullian, and later still, Clement and Origen, waged warfare; and the essential thing in the combat was just this Virgin Birth; for only by maintaining it could the divinity of Christ be maintained over against Jew and Ebionite, and the real humanity of Christ be maintained over against the Gnostics. The Virgin Birth was considered in all its bearings. The ancient fathers went into details in the study of it, to an extent not known in later writers. They maintained over against the Gnostics that Christ was divine not merely from His baptism, not merely from any time after His birth, but in His origination by

conception in His mother's womb. He was, however, not altogether divine in His origin. Mary was not a mere tabernacle, or vessel, to hold the divine being and transmit Him to the world. Mary, as Tertullian argues at great length, in his work *De carne Christi*, contributed *her own flesh and blood* to the formation of the God-man: so that He was just as truly man as He was truly God; not a divinely inhabited man, but a God-man.

The ancients did not consider, and were not at all troubled by, scientific or philosophic difficulties.

They were not troubled about miracles or theophanies. These difficulties are all modern. If the antichristian writers and heretics of the second and third centuries denied the Virgin Birth, it was not that they regarded it as unscientific, or unphilosophic, or impossible; but because they had other theories to maintain. And, indeed, modern objections are not really scientific, but just as speculative as those of the ancient heretics.

It cannot be presumed that God would be conceived by a woman by the ordinary processes of generation. It is *a priori* probable that if God was to become man in the womb of a woman He would become man, not in an ordinary human way, but in an extraordinary divine way, appropriate to the nature and character of the divine Being. There is something more than the processes of conception and childbirth in this case; there was a divine presence and a divine activity in the production of the Christ. As Justin says: "not of the seed of man,

but of the power of God." Inductive science can say nothing here; because the fact is unique, beyond its knowledge and testing. It is a question of fact, depending upon testimony which is, as we have shown, sufficient and abundant, such as no one can reasonably refuse.

That which influences the objectors is not anything that Science has to offer. The very ablest scientific men in the world hold to the Virgin Birth, not as scientists but as Christians. St. Luke, who is especially responsible for the doctrine, was the beloved physician of St. Paul in Rome; and doubtless knew all about the processes of generation and childbirth that was known to Hippocrates and Aristotle and the best medical and scientific writers of the time. In fact, just in the time of St. Luke the study and practice of medicine was very active in Rome through the energetic propaganda of the so-called Methodist School of Medicine.

Our moderns know more of Science and Medicine than he did, but St. Luke knew as much as they do of the biological processes with which this doctrine has to do. If he found no difficulty, why should they? The only important difference, the only one that at all affects the question, is that St. Luke accepted the presence and power of God in nature and human affairs, and therefore the supernatural and the miraculous, and these objectors are agnostics or sceptics in this regard. Let them make their objections honestly from the stand-point of agnosticism, and not hide their agnosticism behind scientific and critical

pretences. Scientific men, in fact, do not object on scientific grounds, but because of *a priori* reluctance to accept miracles or anything that is supernatural. But this is a purely theoretic objection, not based on inductive or deductive philosophy, any more than upon inductive science.

I shall not attempt to defend the older theories of miracles or of supernatural divine actions. The explanation of miracles, theories about them, are one thing; the reality of miracles in Biblical history is another thing. We are only concerned to maintain the reality of supernatural action. The reality depends upon historic testimony, not upon theories of any kind, as to whether it may be possible or not.

No one can reasonably maintain that God may not manifest Himself at pleasure, interpose for a noble purpose, work a miracle, or enable a man to work a miracle, in the interest of truth and righteousness. Even Hume could not deny that. He attacked miracles as insufficient in evidential value. It is then simply a question of evidence. Hume and his followers are unreasonable in demanding more evidence than is sufficient.

A modern man will not appeal to the supernatural if he can help it; and if any reasonable explanation of a miracle can be given which brings it under the known laws of nature, he will accept it. He has sufficient reason for thinking that the new discoveries of principles and laws that are being made will explain many miracles that are now difficult to explain. As I said some years ago, if all miracles could

be explained by some at present unknown laws, they would not cease to be miracles.[1]

What Philosophy demands, is a *sufficient reason* for any extraordinary action, whether by God or man. We can assign a sufficient reason for the extraordinary action of God in entering the world by incarnation in a virgin's womb. He came in the fulness of time, as St. Paul says, born of a woman, in order to redeem mankind. He became a God-man by incarnation, to become the Saviour of the world. That reason is *sufficient*, as it is the most important of all reasons, for such a unique conception and birth of a virgin.

We make a mistake by thinking too much of the passive side rather than of the active side of the Incarnation. It is quite true that the Creed says: *born of the Virgin Mary*, and later, *conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary*. But that meant in the Creed, what it meant in the New Testament writers and the early Christian writers, something more than the exact words conveyed. It meant at least all that Matthew and Luke give in their narratives, and to most writers all that St. Paul and St. John teach in addition. Thus, in Luke, the central tetrastich gives:

> "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee,
> And the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee."

This implies the theophanic presence of God, present as at the dedication of the tabernacle and the

[1] Briggs, *Authority of Holy Scripture*, p. 37.

temple, and at the baptism and transfiguration of our Lord: in other words, a divine activity; not merely by a power or influence sent down from heaven, but by reality of presence to the Virgin.

In the teaching of St. Paul and St. John, as to the advent of the Son of God, He Himself is active; He comes from heaven; He personally and voluntarily becomes flesh. St. Luke does not make Christ active here, but passive, as the product, the holy seed; but this by no means implies that he did not actually regard the Son of God as just as truly active in the production of the holy seed as was the divine Spirit. St. Luke could not have been a pupil of St. Paul, whose chief writings were behind him, when he wrote of the Virgin Birth, without holding as much as this. He reproduces his poetic source without changing the passive into the active, which as a disciple of St. Paul he would have been inclined to do. And so the early Christian writers all think of the Son of God as active in the production of His flesh in the Virgin's womb.

> Thus Justin says: "It is wrong, therefore, to understand the Spirit and the power of God as anything else than the Word, who is also the first-born of God . . . and it was this which, when it came upon the Virgin, and overshadowed her, caused her to conceive, not by intercourse but by power" (*Apol.* 33).
>
> Hippolytus says, in his Commentary on Luke 2[7]:
>
> "The Word was the first-born of God, who came down from heaven to the blessed Mary, and was made a first-born man in her womb; in order that the first-born of God might be manifested in union with a first-born man."
>
> Irenæus says: "He took up man into Himself, the invisible becoming visible, the incomprehensible being made

comprehensible, the impassible becoming capable of suffering, and the Word being made man," etc. (*Adv. Hær.*, III, 16[6]). In arguing for the reality of the incarnation, he says: "*Why did He come down into her, if He were to take nothing of her?*" (III, 22[2]).

Tertullian, in his third form of the Rule of Faith, paraphrasing the very article of the Virgin Birth, says:

"This Word is called His Son, under the name of God, was seen in divers manners by the patriarchs, heard at all times in the prophets, at last brought down by the Spirit and Power of God into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and being born of her, went forth as Jesus Christ" (*Præ. Hær.*, 13).

We should think, therefore, first of the virgin conception, which was not of the seed of man, but of the Son of God, the second Person of the Trinity, entering her womb and becoming flesh therein. We are to start with the conception of *manifestation* in the flesh, *epiphany* in the flesh, as the culmination of all the theophanies of the Old Testament. He who in ancient Israel manifested Himself in the pillar of cloud and fire, and in the Shekina of the tabernacle and the temple, manifested Himself in flesh in Jesus Christ. This flesh, however, was not a mere appearance, or external dwelling-place of the Christ, as the Gnostics would have it. It was taken up into the Son of God Himself, and made an inseparable and eternal part of Himself. The flesh was derived from Mary the Virgin; and a human father had no part in it.

Irenæus says: "The Lord took dust from the earth and formed man; so did He who is the Word, recapitulating Adam in Himself, rightly receive a birth, enabling Him to gather up Adam from Mary, who was yet a virgin. . . . If the former was taken from the dust, and God was his

maker, it was incumbent that the latter also, making a recapitulation in Himself, should be formed as man by God, to have an analogy with the former as respects His origin. Why, then, did not God again take dust, but wrought so that the formation should be of Mary? It was that there might not be another formation called into being, nor any other which should be saved; but that the very same formation should be summed up, the analogy having been preserved" (*Adv. Hær.*, III, 21[10]).

We have studied the Virgin Birth and the conception by the divine Spirit from the point of view of the New Testament and the Christian writers of the second and third centuries in their life-and-death struggle with Jews, Ebionites, and Gnostics. The more profoundly significant relations of this doctrine must be postponed till we come to study the Nicene Creed, in its earlier and later forms, in its combat with Arianism, Nestorianism, and Monophysitism.

We have taken much space in explaining the origin and historical significance of the Virgin Birth, and the defence of it from all objection; but we must not forget that it was the first act of the Son of God for our salvation. The incarnation itself, and indeed by Virgin Birth, was the initial saving act of the Son of God. It was not simply His entrance into the world, in order to become, later on, a Saviour by His death on the cross and His resurrection. This opinion is not an ancient one, nor a Biblical one, but a modern one, which makes the crucifixion the one great act of salvation. It is the familiarity of this generation with that doctrine, so wrapped up with modern views of the atonement, that makes it difficult for some to realize the necessity of a Virgin

Birth in order to our salvation. When, however, we follow the order of salvation of the Creed, and the New Testament upon which it is founded, we see that it is just the Incarnation, which is the initial saving act of the Son of God, upon which all other saving acts depend. And so the necessity of the Virgin Birth soon becomes evident.

It is just here that we must recall St. Paul's antithesis between the first and the second Adam.

As the first Adam summed up in himself all his descendants, the whole human race, who share with their first father the consequences of his original sin and fall; just so Jesus Christ recapitulates in Himself this same human race in order to redeem it. Jesus was more than an individual man. If He were no more than that, His Incarnation would not have redemptive significance. He was born of the Virgin as the God-man, God manifest in the flesh. God did not take to Himself a man Jesus born of Mary, as the ancient Gnostics held, and their modern representatives among the Ritschlians now hold. This would give only a divinely inhabited man, not a God-man. This would make Jesus nothing more than John the Baptist, who was just such a divinely inhabited man: "filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb" (Luke 1[15]). Certainly all the Gospels agree in making the origin of Jesus something different from this. It was God the Son, the second Person of the Trinity, the pre-existent Son of God, who became man by entering the Virgin's womb, being conceived by her and being born of

her. In other words, God took to Himself *human nature* in its entireness, completeness, and integrity: but He did not become thereby merely such an individual man as John the Baptist; but, to use the term of the older theologians, a *common* Man in whom all men have a share, a Man who sums up in Himself all that is characteristic of perfect humanity. Jesus Christ did not share in the inheritance of sin and guilt, otherwise He would have needed salvation Himself. He made, as it were, a new beginning in humanity, taking to Himself the old humanity without its inheritance of evil, and introducing into humanity a spirit of holiness, incorruptible flesh, and an innocent sinlessness, in original uninterrupted communion with the Father, which involved the perfection of humanity.

It is just because God the Son thus identifies Himself, not with an individual man but with humanity as such, that He is able to save the human race. Accordingly, in all His activities He acts as the second Adam, the head of redeemed humanity. His Incarnation united humanity to God and made human salvation realizable, because of the pulsations of the divine life in the humanity of Jesus Christ, and through Him in all who are united to Him in a regenerate life. St. Paul, in his Epistles, repeatedly represents that in all the saving acts of Christ all Christians are involved, because they are in mystic union with Him as the second Adam, the God-man, so that in His Incarnation there is involved the regeneration of mankind.

The Christian Faith, as expressed in this article of the Creed, embraces these elements:

(1) Jesus Christ was conceived of the Holy Ghost; that is, Mary conceived the Son of God, not through human agency, but by the power of the Holy Spirit of God.

(2) Mary was before this conception, in the conception, and subsequent thereto in the birth of Jesus, a Virgin.

(3) By this conception and birth the Son of God received from the Virgin a complete human nature.

(4) The pre-existent Son of the Father was conceived and was born with the flesh and nature of man; and so as God became the God-man, uniting humanity with Deity in eternal union.

(5) The birth of the Virgin was the first act of salvation of the Son of the Father for the regeneration of mankind.

CHAPTER VI

CRUCIFIED AND BURIED

It is noteworthy that the Creed passes over the entire life of Jesus in this world between His birth and His crucifixion. Indeed the life of Jesus in this world has little *doctrinal* importance. There are few and only incidental references to it in the Epistles, the Book of Acts, and Revelation. The Gospels do not give us a *life* of Jesus. The incidents are few, the biographical material slender, His relations to the great events of His time insignificant, making not a ripple in the current of history. His thirty years prior to His ministry were lived in obscurity. His ministry was short and of uncertain length—at the most three and a half years, but probably not more than a year and a half.[1]

The Gospels give His teachings, especially in the training of His disciples, to the chief of whom, the Twelve and the Seventy, He committed the continuation of His ministry and the establishment of His kingdom in the world.

For the doctrine of Christ, therefore, His brief public ministry is of little importance. The Gospels set the teaching of Jesus in the framework of certain activities, and these in none of the Gospels are given

[1] *V.* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, p. 55.

in chronological order.[1] The Gospels are what they profess to be, and what they have always been called, *Gospels*, that is, glad tidings of salvation through the Messiah. They occupy the same fundamental position in the New Testament that the Law does in the Old Testament. Lives of Jesus Christ are really modern conceptions, which in some respects lead to false ideas of Him. The New Testament leaves all those things that go to make up a biography in the background of His teaching and of His miracles of love; and thus makes Him, what He is and must be from the very nature of the case, the Messiah and Saviour, a mystery, a unique man, one apart from all men in a unique relation to God, His Father, in a sense peculiar to Him alone.

The only important doctrinal significance in the life of Jesus is that His life illustrates His character and His teachings; and makes it evident that He was sinless, and entirely perfect, in His entire attitude of love to the Father and to all mankind.

His piety was perfect; for His union and communion with the Father was entire and uninterrupted. His teachings were the culmination and fulfilment of the entire Old Testament, and the basis of apostolic teaching and of Christian doctrine in all time; and so the complete and perfect teaching of the Son, who knew of His own knowledge and experience the mind of the Father. His conduct was in all respects one of conformity to the divine will and Law; and yet transcended them by a higher revelation of

[1] *V.* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, chaps. V and VIII.

voluntary self-sacrificing love, that summed up all righteousness in itself.

The innocence of Jesus Christ of any wrong, either to Roman Law or Jewish Law, His entire conformity to the will of the Father, gives His crucifixion as a law-breaker the mediatorial significance that St. Paul and the other Apostles attached to it, as the second of His redemptive acts.

The Roman Creed of the fourth century has: *crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried.* The Creed of the second century was probably the same. But the later Creed was enlarged to: *suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried. Descended into hell* was added, sometimes to this article, sometimes as prefixed to the next article, sometimes as an independent article. Tertullian gives, in his first form: *crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato;* in his second: *hunc passum, hunc mortuum, et sepultum, secundum scripturas;* in his third: *fixum cruci.* Irenæus gives in his first form: *the passion* (τὸ πάθος); in his second: *suffered* (*passus*) *under Pontius Pilate,* as in Eastern Creeds, which, like the Creed of Eusebius and the Nicene Creed, use παθόντα.

The Creed of Jerusalem has: *crucified and buried;* and so the Constantinopolitan enlarges it into: *and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was buried.* The evidence is not strong for the *exact* words of the Roman Creed of the second century; but it favors the opinion that the form of the fourth century was that of the second. This is confirmed by the formula of exorcism given by

Justin[1]: *in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate.*

(1) *Under Pontius Pilate.* There was especial reason for the mention of the Roman governor in the Roman Creed, as indicating both the date of the crucifixion, and also its having been done under the authority of the Roman governor.

(2) *Crucified.* The specific term *crucified*, instead of the more general term *suffered*, was doubtless due to the influence of the Epistles of St. Paul upon the Roman community. The mode of death by crucifixion is an essential feature in St. Paul's theology.

(*a*) *In the crucifixion of Christ was a power of salvation.* "We preach Christ crucified, unto Jews a stumbling-block, and unto Gentiles foolishness; but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God" (I Cor. 1^{23-24}; *cf.* 2^{2}, Gal. 6^{14}).

St. Paul saw in *Christ crucified* a *power* which had transformed him, and his disciples, Jews and Greeks; and given them an entirely new relation to God and the world: that is, the very same relation that Christ Himself attained by His death, owing to the mystic union of His disciples with Him in His new humanity as the second Adam.

(*b*) *By the crucifixion Christ became a curse for us, and so redeemed us from the curse of the Law.* "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law, having become a curse for us; for it is written, 'Cursed is

[1] *Apol.*, II, 6; *Dial. Trypho*, 30, 85.

every one that hangeth on a tree'" (Gal. 3^{13}). Those who are united to Christ by faith are no longer subject to the penalty of the Law, for their sins against the Law. Christ has suffered the extreme penalty of crucifixion for them; and therefore the Law has no further claims upon them. *Christians are no longer guilty before the Law of God,* are no longer under condemnation; but are justified before God by their faith in Christ Jesus. This is explained in Rom. 6^{6} in this way: "Our old man was crucified with (Him), that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no longer be in bondage to sin"; and in Gal. $2^{19\text{-}20}$: "For I through the Law died unto the Law, that I might live unto God. I have been crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me: and that (life) which I now live in the flesh, I live in faith, (the faith) which is in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself up for me."

The same essential idea is taught in Col. 2^{14}: "Having blotted out the bond written in ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us: and He hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the cross." The condemnation by the ordinances of the Law no longer holds against Christians; for these ordinances have been nailed to the cross of Christ, who suffered the condemnation, the innocent for the guilty, interposing for them as their representative and substitute.

(*c*) *By the crucifixion Christ reconciled Christians to God.* Eph. 2^{16}: "And (that He) might reconcile

them (Jew and Gentile) both in one body unto God through the cross, having slain the enmity thereby" (or *thereon;* that is, the enmity as defined in the previous context, that of "the Law of commandments (contained) in ordinances," as in Col. 2^{14}).

So also Col. 1^{19-20}: "For it was the good pleasure (of the Father) that in Him should all the fulness dwell; and through Him to reconcile all things unto Himself, having made peace through the blood of His cross."

Christ, the only begotten Son of the Father, was always in a state of union and communion with the Father. His crucifixion and death did not break that communion; for He was perfectly innocent and holy: therefore those who died with Him, as their surrogate and representative, share in His union and communion with the Father, as His death removed all obstacles to their reconciliation to the Father.

(*d*) *By the crucifixion Jesus Christ completed His state of humiliation and earned the reward to be given in His state of exaltation.* Phil. 2^{8-11}: "And being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, yea, the death of the cross. Wherefore also God highly exalted Him, and gave unto Him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of (things) in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

There are many other references to the cross in Paul's Epistles (*v.* I Cor. $1^{13, 17, 18}$, 2^{8}; II Cor. 13^{4};

Gal. 3^{1}, $5^{11,\ 24}$, 6^{12}; Phil. 3^{18}); but they add nothing to what has been mentioned.

It is evident, therefore, that it was just the death by *crucifixion*, the death of one condemned as a criminal as if guilty of a mortal sin, that was of vast importance for the work of salvation, according to the teaching of St. Paul; because in Christ as the second Adam the head of a new humanity united to Him, His disciples were crucified and died to the old world of Law and its curse, and of the flesh and its lust; and entered a new world of life and love in Christ.

All these passages of St. Paul's Epistles were undoubtedly known to the Roman Church; and were used by the Roman Christians in their interpretation of the Symbol. We are not justified, however, in attributing to them all that these passages imply to modern exegetes. Still less are we justified in attributing to them a knowledge of any of those theories of the atonement which have prevailed more or less in the Mediæval and Modern Church. The doctrine of the atonement first came into prominence in the Church when Anselm asked the question, *Cur Deus homo?* and gave as his answer: the atonement by the cross. The doctrine of the cross became the most characteristic doctrine of the Middle Ages, and the sign of the cross the great Christian symbol. Undoubtedly to mediæval and modern Christians, when they say, *crucified under Pontius Pilate*, the doctrine of atonement by the cross springs into the mind, and very properly so; because, to those who would justly estimate the crucifixion for Christian

doctrine and Christian life, the whole meaning of the cross should be studied: but if for ourselves we seek the maximum of meaning, we should not require of others more than the minimum; and that is, that Jesus Christ was crucified under Pontius Pilate, suffering shameful death as a law-breaker, for our salvation, to deliver us from condemnation, and to give us reconciliation with God.

We must bear in mind that which it is easy to forget, that the One who was crucified was not an ordinary man. If He had been such, even though a prophet and a hero, the greatest of all men, His crucifixion could not have had *saving* significance. He might have been an example of self-sacrifice and heroic devotion; but that could not have had any real virtue in effecting the salvation of mankind. The meaning of the crucifixion is entirely dependent upon the meaning of the incarnation. The incarnation incorporated human nature with the Son of God. This involved the Son of God in all the consequences flowing from that union. His identification with humanity involved His suffering the temptations, trials, and penalties necessary to humanity as such. His identification with the people of Israel involved His subjection to the Law, its obligations and its penalties, and so to the authorities of the Roman and Jewish nations. His innocence, His moral perfection, could not relieve Him from these consequences any more than they could an ordinary man, without divine interposition, or the exercise of His own divine power. He could not invoke the Father's

power, or use His own, without abandoning the purpose of His mission. It was necessary that He should suffer the extreme penalties of human nature and of human history in order to redeem human nature. He suffered physical death, not to relieve mankind from physical death, but to open up everlasting life through the gate of death. He suffered the penalty of broken law, not to do away with obligation to law, or relieve mankind of the physical or moral consequences of sin, but to show a higher life of communion with God through faith and love, so that all who became one with Him enter at once upon an eternal life of love. As St. Paul teaches, all united to Christ in redeemed humanity were crucified with Him and died with Him.

The Creed has already expressed the faith that He who was thus crucified was the Messiah of the Old Testament, the suffering, interposing servant of Yahweh, of Isaiah 53, that He was the Son of the Father, Lord God. It is therefore the crucifixion of a God-man that the Creed believes in; and it is just this union of God and man in the incarnation and birth from a Virgin's womb that gave the crucifixion a universal significance. It was the world crucifying the mediatorial Creator, Sovereign, and Saviour, incarnate in human flesh. This supreme act of love in suffering crucifixion at the hands of the world, while on the one hand it made the guilt of the world supreme, yet it showed the love of God in its supreme expression, triumphing over the supreme sin of the world. This is sublimely expressed in John's

Gospel: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John 3^{16}). Thenceforth the supreme sin is rejecting the Saviour, as the only salvation is in personal union with the Saviour.

(3) *And buried.*

This seems to have been in the original Creed. It is something more than an appendix to the crucifixion. Crucifixion certainly ended in death, but not usually in burial; for among the Romans the dead bodies were left upon the cross to birds of prey, or cast aside as carcasses to be devoured by beasts of prey.

And even if for some special reason the bodies were given over to friends, these bodies were usually burned and only the ashes preserved. It was to comply with Jewish customs, and at the request of the Jews, that the dead body of Jesus was taken down from the cross. It was usual to break the legs of the crucified to make sure that they were dead; but Jesus being already dead, His legs were not broken. His body was given to Joseph of Arimathæa, who, after preparing it with ointments and spices, and wrapping it in linen cloths, according to Jewish custom, put it in a rock tomb in his garden; and the stone door shut it in (Mark 15^{42-46}, Mt. 27^{57-60}, Luke 23^{50-56}, John 19^{38-42}). Thus Jesus was entombed, as was the custom among the Jews and the early Christians of Rome, in the numerous catacombs. He was not buried in the ground. It

was important to state the fact that *Jesus' body was placed in a tomb*, and not burned, or devoured by beasts or birds of prey. This was necessary in order to the resurrection of His body that followed. Furthermore, the entombment of the body carried with it implicitly the descent of His departed spirit to Hades, the common abode of the dead, in accordance with the opinion of Romans, Greeks, and Jews alike, in those times.

So St. Paul makes the antithesis between entombment and resurrection: "We who were baptized into Christ Jesus, were baptized into His death. We were entombed therefore with Him through the baptism into the death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life" (Rom. 6^{3-4}); "having been entombed with Him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with Him through faith in the working of God, who raised Him from the dead" (Col. 2^{12}). The entombment of Christ was an act of salvation for us; because, as St. Paul says, Christians were by organic union with Him in baptism entombed with Him, and, we may say, descended to Hades with Him; thus going through all the processes that mankind must pursue prior to, and in order to, the resurrection. Thus Jesus consecrated death and the tomb and Hades for Christians, and made them a gateway to the resurrection and the heavenly life.

The later forms of the fourth article of the Creed enlarge the crucifixion to comprehend all the suffer-

ings that preceded the crucifixion, and made explicit what was implicit before: namely, the death, and the descent into Hades for the salvation of the dead.

(4) *Suffered.*

As we have already seen, this more general term was most common in Eastern Creeds, and is used by Irenæus. Even Tertullian, in one of his uses, gives it, probably as the more general term to comprehend more then the crucifixion; namely all the sufferings of Jesus connected therewith. Thus Ignatius says: "was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified, and died" (*Tral.* 9).

Suffered came into the Apostles' Creed probably by assimilation to the Nicene Creed; in order to include all the sufferings of Christ besides the crucifixion and previous thereto, such as the scourging, the crowning with thorns, and all those other sufferings of Christ which the Middle Ages emphasized, and which are represented in the stations of the Cross still used, especially in Roman Catholic countries.

The verb πάσχω is not used of the sufferings of Christ by St. Paul; but it is characteristic of the First Epistle of Peter ($2^{21,23}$, 3^{18}, 4^{1}), the Epistle to the Hebrews (2^{18}, 5^{8}, 9^{26}, 13^{12}), Luke's Gospel (17^{25}, 22^{15}, $24^{26,\ 46}$), and the Book of Acts (1^{3}, 3^{18}, 17^{3}).

The noun πάθημα is used of Christ's sufferings in I Peter 1^{11}, 4^{13}, 5^{1}; also Heb. $2^{9,\ 10}$; and by St. Paul, II Cor. 1^{5}, Phil. 3^{10}.

This emphasis upon the sufferings of Christ was doubtless due to the sufferings of Christian martyrs who followed their Lord in the experience of suffer-

ings, often much more severe on the physical side than those of the Master. His sufferings had not relieved them from suffering; but they enabled the martyrs to rejoice in their sufferings in view of their speedy and eternal reward.

(5) *Dead.*

This insertion seems unnecessary, as it was implied in the crucifixion and burial, although Ignatius and Origen, and even Tertullian (in his second form), use it, the last two, however, without *crucifixion;* Ignatius with the *crucifixion* but without the *burial.* It was inserted probably merely for completeness and fulness of statement.

Death, in antithesis with life, is especially characteristic of the Gospel of John ($10^{11, 15, 17, 18}$, 12^{33}, 15^{13}; I John 3^{16}; *cf.* Heb. $2^{9, 14}$), and it is used in a general sense with reference to Christ throughout the New Testament.

It is quite possible that when the practice of crucifixion had passed away, ignorant people did not understand what it meant, and it became important to make it plain in the Creed that Christ actually died, in order to understand the resurrection that followed.

(6) *Descended into Hell.*

This phrase appears in a Creed first in that of Aquileia (c. 390). But it is found in three previous Synodical declarations, those of Sirminium, Nice, and Constantinople (359–360). Cyril of Jerusalem, in his commentary on the Creed, makes the Descent into Hell one of the necessary articles.[1]

[1] *Catech.,* IV; *v.* Swete, *Apostles' Creed,* pp. 56 *seq.*

Some modern scholars have urged that *hell* or *inferna* and even *Hades* were only synonyms of the grave; but that is impossible in view of Biblical statements as to *Hades*, and the views of the early Fathers. The descent into *Hades* was really implied in the term *entombed* of the Roman Creed; for it was the universal opinion in ancient times that when the body was entombed, the spirit departed from it to Hades.[1] But it was subsequently thought best to state it.

The Athanasian Creed has it (early fifth century). It is in the Creeds of Venantius Fortunatus (c. 570), and of the fourth Council of Toledo (633).[2]

The most important passages of Scripture on which the doctrine of the Creed is founded, are:

(*a*) Acts 2^{27}, where St. Peter quotes the sixteenth Psalm and applies it to Christ.

> "Thou wilt not leave my soul unto Hades
> Neither wilt Thou give Thy Holy One to see corruption."
> (R. V.)

The original is:[3]

> "Thou wilt not leave me to Sheol;
> Thou wilt not suffer thy pious one to see the Pit."

St. Peter says: "Being therefore a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins He would set (one) upon

[1] *V.* Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*, Art. V.

[2] The Old Testament usage of שאול is given in my article שאול (Robinson's Gesenius' *Hebrew Lexicon*, BDB); and the New Testament usage of ᾅδης, in Thayer's *Greek Lexicon of the New Testament.*

[3] *V.* Briggs, *Commentary on the Psalms*, I, 121. Luke follows the Septuagint in making שחת abstract, rather than the concrete *pit* of Sheol.

his throne; he, foreseeing (this), spake of the resurrection of the Christ, that neither was He left unto Hades, nor did His flesh see corruption" (Acts $2^{30\ 31}$). This implies that Jesus went to Hades; yet He was not left there by God, but, on the contrary, was raised up from Hades.

(*b*) Jesus also refers to Hades in His Parable of Dives and Lazarus, where He puts in antithesis the two parts, Hades and Abraham's Bosom (Luke $16^{22\text{-}23}$); and also when He tells the dying robber: "Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise" (Luke 23^{43}). According to the opinion of the times, Hades was the general term for the place whither all the dead went; it might be used for the whole, or for either of the antithetical parts. There was the place of the righteous, called specifically Paradise, or Abraham's Bosom; there was the place of punishment called the Pit, or Destruction.

(*c*) St. Paul refers to the descent of Jesus to Hades. "Now this, 'He ascended,' what is it but that He also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens, that He might fill all things" (Eph. $4^{9,\ 10}$).[1]

Usage makes it plain that τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς refers to *Sheol*. So Origen (*Hom.* 35 *in Matthew*); Athanasius (*Epist. ad Epictetum*); Hilarius (in Psalm 67); Jerome (*Com. in loco*); Hilary (*De Trinitate*, X, 65); and the best mod-

[1] אבדון = Greek ἀπώλεια (שחת, בור). *Gehenna* was never used for the place after death, but only for the final place of punishment subsequent to the Messianic judgment. *V.* my articles in Robinson's Gesenius' *Hebrew Lexicon*, BDB.

erns. Indeed, the usage of the Old Testament (Ezekiel 26^{20}, $32^{18, 24}$; Psalms 63^{9}, 139^{15}) favors its reference to the deeper, gloomier regions of Sheol, the place of punishment. (*V.* my *Commentary on Psalms*, II, 76; also *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 202.)

This descent is in order to an ascent. In the ascent He does not ascend alone, but with captives: "He led captivity captive." These captives, according to the fundamental passages (Psalm 68^{18}, Judges 5^{12}), are not captive enemies, but captives rescued from the enemy. These, therefore, can be no other than those whom Christ delivered from the bondage of death, and brought with Him in His ascent from Hades;[1] those referred to in John 5^{25} and Mt. $27^{52, 53}$.

This interpretation of Eph. $4^{9, 10}$ is confirmed by Rom. $10^{6,7}$: "Say not in thy heart: Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down); or, Who shall descend into the abyss? (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead)." *The abyss*, *τὴν ἄβυσσον* (as in Rev. 9^{11}; Luke 8^{31}), is the translation of the Septuagint in Psalm 71^{20}, of the depths of Sheol, תהומות הארץ.[2]

(*d*) The most important passage is I Peter 3^{18-20}:

> "Because Christ also suffered for sins once, just for unjust, that He might bring us to God; being put to death in flesh, but quickened in spirit; in which also He went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah," etc.

[1] *V. Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 275–6; *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 203–4.

[2] *V. Hebrew Lexicon, sub voce.*

This passage has been much contested in modern times; but the ancients were wellnigh unanimous in referring it to Christ's descent to Hades and His preaching to the prisoners of Hades, especially the antediluvians.[1] That is the only sound interpretation of the passage; and it is confirmed by 4^6, where it is distinctly stated:

> "For unto this end was the Gospel preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit."[2]
>
> Among the ancients who refer this passage to Jesus' descent to Hades to preach to the dead are Hermas (*Sim.*, IX), Irenæus (IV, 27^2), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, VI, 6), Origen (*c. Cels.*, II, 43), Tertullian (*De anima*, c. 55), Hippolytus (*De Antichristo*, 26, 45).

(*e*) Heb. 2^{14} *seq.*: Jesus died "that through death He might bring to naught him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and might deliver all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." Thus the death of Jesus was in order that He might triumph over death and the devil in Hades.

(*f*) Rev. 1^{18}: The Messiah in theophany to John declares: "I was dead, and behold, I am alive forevermore, and I have the keys of Death and of Hades." This implies the authority over them, and the power to open the doors of Hades and to close them; to confine in Hades or to release therefrom.

Another passage suggesting the triumph of Jesus in Hades is Col. 2^{15}.

There should be no doubt therefore as to the New

[1] *V. Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 56 *seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 59 *seq.*

Testament doctrine of the descent of Christ to Hades in the main features, though many details are obscure.[1]

Jesus' statement to the dying robber, and St. Peter's statement on the Day of Pentecost, imply that Jesus went to the paradise of Hades. St. Paul's statement implies that He went to the prison of Hades to rescue some at least of its prisoners. St. Peter teaches definitely that Jesus went to the prison of Hades to preach to the prisoners there, especially the wicked antediluvians, who rejected the preaching of Noah. If the Gospel was preached to them by Jesus, certainly to others less wicked than they, and also certainly not in vain; for the preaching of Jesus is a power of God unto salvation, and St. Paul tells us that He did in fact rescue captives. It is also plain, according to Heb. 2^{14} and Rev. 1^{18}, that Jesus has authority over Hades, and triumphed over Satan and death there.

This is the New Testament background of the mission of Jesus to the lower world. It was, indeed, just as important that Jesus should preach to the dead as to the living; especially if St. Peter is right in his statement that "in none other is there salvation: for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved" (Acts 4^{12}).

We should understand that the universal belief in Hades as the abode of the dead, in the apostolic

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 530–4.

times and in the early Christian centuries, made it easy for the early Christians to think of Jesus' descent to Hades and preaching there. The modern Protestant ignoring of the Middle State between death and the resurrection makes it difficult for Protestants to understand this doctrine.

There were many differences among the ancients as to the work of Christ in Hades.

(1) Polycarp only mentions the ascent from Hades: "Whom God raised, having loosed the pangs of Hades"; based on Acts 2^{24}.

(2) Ignatius says: "How shall we be able to live apart from Him? Seeing that even the prophets, being His disciples, were expecting Him as their teacher through the Spirit. And for this cause He whom they rightly awaited, when He came, raised them from the dead" (*Magn.*, 9).

(3) Hermas says that "the Apostles and the teachers who preached the name of the Son of God, after they had fallen asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, preached also to them that had fallen asleep before them, and themselves gave unto them the seal of the preaching" (*Sim.*, IX, 16).

Thus the Apostles and teachers carried on the work of Christ in Hades, just as they did here upon the earth. These three of the Apostolic Fathers give their testimony; and there is no one against their doctrine.

(4) Eusebius represents that Thaddeus, the Apostle to Edessa, preached that Christ "was crucified and descended into Hades, and burst the bars which

from eternity had not been broken, and raised the dead; for He descended alone, but rose with many, and thus ascended to His Father" (*Hist. Eccl.*, I, 13^{19}).

(5) Justin says, quoting from the Old Testament a passage not found in Hebrew in exactly these terms, but probably using Is. 26^{19} with this interpretation, possibly from an Aramaic or Greek paraphrase: "The Lord remembered his dead people of Israel who lay in the graves; and He descended to preach to them His own salvation" (*Tryph.*, 72).

(6) According to Irenæus, "Isaiah says: 'And the holy Lord remembered His dead Israel, who had slept in the land of sepulture; and He came down to preach His salvation to them, that He might save them'" (*Adv. Hær.*, III, 20^{4}). He also quotes from one of the elders of the second Christian generation:

> "It was for this reason, too, that the Lord descended into the regions beneath the earth, preaching His advent there also, and (declaring) the remission of sins received by those who believe in Him. Now all those believed in Him who had hope toward Him; that is, those who proclaimed His advent, and submitted to His dispensations, the righteous men, the prophets, and the patriarchs, to whom He remitted sins in the same way as He did to us" (IV, 27^{2}; *cf.* also V, $31^{1, 2}$).

(7) Hippolytus represents that Christ preached the Gospel to the souls of the saints, and also, to "ransom the souls of the saints from the hand of death." He also represents that John the Baptist announced Christ's advent in Hades just as he did in this world. (*De Antichristo*, 26, 45.)

(8) *Tertullian* says: "With the same law of His being He (Christ) fully complied, by remaining in Hades in the form and condition of a dead man; nor did He ascend into the heights of heaven before descending into the lower parts of the earth, that He might make the patriarchs and prophets partakers of Himself" (*De anima*, 55).

The most ancient view was therefore the preaching of the Gospel to the pious dead of the Old Testament.

Clement of Alexandria extended this preaching to the pious dead of the heathen as well (*Strom.*, VI, 6); so Origen (*c. Celsum*, II, 43).

The Creed undoubtedly means that Jesus Christ descended to Hades as an important stage in His work of salvation; for all the acts mentioned in the Creed are saving acts. It meant to the early Christians certainly (1) that Christ thereby became the conqueror of Death and Hades, the Devil and all evil angels, taking all Christians from under their authority and control.

(2) It also meant to them that He preached His Gospel to all the pious dead, who there believed on Him and shared in Christian salvation; so that He "opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers."

(3) It was uncertain how far the pious dead were removed from Hades as companions in the resurrection of Jesus, and how far they were to remain in the paradise of Hades until the resurrection. The New Testament teaches that some at least of the pious

dead, the saints and martyrs, accompanied Jesus in His resurrection; and the Catholic Church holds now as in ancient times that the saints go to heaven. But many of the Fathers do not hold to that opinion. It is the common opinion among Protestants that all believers at death go to heaven; but it is difficult to prove this, either from the New Testament or from the history of doctrine or in any other way, and it is contrary to the consensus of the ancient Church.

(4) It is disputed by the Fathers and theologians, whether Christ preached to the wicked dead, and whether He saved any of them. The tendency in Scholastic Theology was to draw the line of salvation strictly by sacramental lines. High Augustinians and High Calvinists limited salvation to the elect. There could be no salvation after death except for those whose salvation was begun in this world by baptism, either in fact, or through the baptism of desire.

There was a continuance of the process after death in the purgatory of the Roman Catholics and the intermediate state of the ancients. But most Protestants denied the intermediate state altogether; and made heaven or hell dependent upon faith in Christ and union with the Church in this life. Many moderns recognize, on the basis of I Peter, that Christ preached to the wicked dead, and saved at least some of them; and agree with that opinion which prevailed in the early Church.

(5) Hermas, in the early Church, and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, II, 9) held that the Apostles and

Christian teachers continued the work of Christ in preaching to the dead. Few have followed them in this opinion, whether ancient or modern. There is no Biblical evidence on the subject. It is a question of probability, or improbability, depending on deductions from other doctrines and facts of the Christian religion.

In this section of the Creed, as in the others, the phrase, *descended into hell*, may mean little or much in accordance with circumstances and education.

There are, however, several modern opinions, which have no historic right in the interpretation of the Creed. These are:

(1) *He descended into hell* amounts to nothing more than *He descended into the grave.*

(2) *He descended into hell* means *He suffered the penalties of the damned in hell.*

(3) *He descended into hell to triumph over the devil in his own dominions.*

The Formula of Concord (IX) limits the purpose of the descent to this: "that He destroyed hell for all believers, and that we through Him have been snatched from the power of death and Satan, from eternal damnation, and even from the jaws of hell."

None of these theories explain the insertion of the clause into the Creed; and they are altogether inconsistent with the Descent into Hades as a saving act of Jesus, which certainly was the thought of those who inserted the clause in the Creed.

Unfortunately the early Protestants, in overlooking the Middle State of souls, confounded the Mid-

dle State with the Final State after the Resurrection; and so *Hell* was used for *Hades* = *Sheol*, the Biblical term for the Middle State, and also for *Gehenna* = *ἀπώλεια*, the Final State after the resurrection; and they understood *Hell* in the sense of *Gehenna*, the ultimate place of damnation. Accordingly, the Protestant Episcopal Church permits the minister to substitute: "He went into the place of departed spirits." But this permission is seldom used now; for the ministry and people have come to a better understanding of the meaning of the Descent into Hell.

CHAPTER VII

RISEN FROM THE DEAD

The fifth article of the Apostles' Creed represents the resurrection of Christ from among the dead, on the third day, as His third great act of salvation, securing thereby the resurrection of mankind and the justification of all believers.

The fifth article of the Old Roman Creed was: *On the third day risen from the dead.* The Creed of the fourth century was the same, except the substitution of indicative for participle of the same verb. The Creed has always remained the same in this article since the second century.

The *exact* words of the Creed are not found in the New Testament, nor among the Apostolic Fathers, so far as I know.

Tertullian has in his first form: *tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis.*

The Creeds of Cyril, Eusebius, and Nicæa have: *ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.*

It seems probable from the usage of these Eastern Creeds that, underlying the Creed of the second century, there was a still earlier form without *ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, and that the original form of the Roman Creed was that of the Oriental Creeds, so far as this article is concerned.

The whole phrase of these early Creeds is prima-

rily based on the words of Jesus Himself, predicting His resurrection.

The Lukan Gospel, here as elsewhere, was at the basis of the Roman Creed, the original phrase being based on the words of Jesus (Luke 9^{22}, 18^{33}), later enlarged by the addition of ἐκ νεκρῶν from Luke 24^{46}.

(1) *On the third day.* This phrase was doubtless used because of its significance in the words of Jesus Himself, fulfilled as they were by the event, as represented in I Cor. 15^{4}. The significance of the third day was: (*a*) to make sufficiently evident the reality of the death, burial, and descent into Hades. There was sufficient time for all these. (*b*) It was not to extend the time during which the Redeemer would be subjected to death and Hades; (*c*) it was to make the resurrection more distinct and definite, as an event which happened at a particular time and after a predicted interval. Doubtless the prediction of Jesus and its fulfilment were in the minds of the authors of the Creed.

(2) *Risen*, the aorist participle, is connected, as all the other terms, with *Jesus Christ*, *God's Son*, *our Lord*. The verb is here *active*, as implying that the resurrection was an act of the Lord Himself. It is usual in the New Testament to represent that God raised up His Son, God being active, Jesus passive.[1]

We have exactly the same difference in point of view here as in the case of the incarnation; only there is a singular reversal of attitude. Thus St.

[1] Acts $2^{24, 32}$, 13^{34}, 17^{31}; I Cor. 15^{4-20} (nine times); Rom. 4^{25}; *cf.* 1^{4}, 4^{24}, 6^{4}, $8^{11, 34}$; Eph. 1^{20}.

Paul represents the Son as active in the incarnation, but usually as passive in the resurrection, except in I Thes. 4^{14}, and when the resurrection and ascension are combined in the ascent. According to Matthew, the Son is passive in the resurrection as well as in the incarnation. Luke's Gospel follows Mark in regarding the Son as active in the resurrection, in all cases, quoting words of Jesus. Matthew agrees with St. Paul in using *ἐγείρω, arouse from the sleep of death* = הקיץ the Old Testament term of Is. 26^{19}, Dn. 12^{2}. But the Gospels of Mark and Luke use *ἀνίστημι*, intransitive, *rise up, stand up;* doubtless because of the Aramaic of Jesus and Hebrew of Mark.[1] Luke, in Acts, uses both *ἀνίστημι* and *ἐγείρω*. The Son is active in John's Gospel, so far as the resurrection comes into view. He has life in Himself as the Father has. Usually the resurrection is combined with the ascension, in the return to the Father and ascending where He was before. There is no difference of doctrine here, for both God the Father and God the Son are active together in the unity of their Being. Whenever God the Father is mentioned, the resurrection of Jesus is His work.

St. Paul regards the resurrection of Christ as the cardinal principle of his theology. "If Christ hath not been raised, then is our preaching vain, your faith also is vain" (I Cor. 15^{14}). The resurrection is the cardinal doctrine also to St. Peter, and in the early preaching of Christians. The Apostles were especially witnesses of Christ's resurrection (Acts 1^{22}).

[1] Delitzsch, *Hebrew New Testament*, uses קום here.

That was an essential requisite for the choice of the one who was to supply the place of Judas in the college of the Twelve.

The Gospels lay great stress on the resurrection. It is true that the account of the resurrection in Mark 16^{9-20} is a later addition to the Gospel; although still within the limits of apostolicity and canonicity. But thrice St. Mark gives predictions of our Lord Himself as to His resurrection (8^{31}, $9^{9, 31}$, 10^{34}), and in 16^{1-8} gives an account of the visit of the women to the empty tomb and the message of the angel to the disciples that they should meet Jesus in Galilee. All this implies not only the resurrection but also appearances to the Apostles. His narrative of the resurrection probably was designed by St. Mark to be in his narrative of the Jerusalem church, which is preserved in the early chapters of Acts as the source of that narrative.[1] The usual opinion is that the original story of the resurrection by St. Mark has been lost from the Gospel, and its place is taken by the present narrative.

The stories of the resurrection in Matthew, Luke, John, and I Cor. 15 are quite full. St. Paul's narrative is the earliest in time (I Cor. 15^{3-8}). He mentions no less than six appearances: (1) to St. Peter (*cf.* Luke 24^{34}), (2) to the Eleven (*cf.* Mark 16^{14}; John 20^{26-29}; Acts 1^{1-5}), (3) to the Five Hundred Brethren, (4) to St. James, the Lord's brother, (5) to all the Apostles, probably at the ascension (*cf.* Mark 16^{19}; Luke 24^{50-51}; Acts 1^{6-11}), (6) to St. Paul himself.

[1] *V.* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 112 *seq.*

The Synoptic Gospels mention four others: (1) to Mary Magdalene and other women (Mark 16^{9-11}; Mt. 28^{9-10}; also John 20^{11-18}), (2) to Cleopas and his companion (Mark 16^{12-13}; Luke 24^{13-32}), (3) to the Ten in the room of the Lord's Supper (Luke 24^{36-43}; also John 20^{19-24}), (4) to the Eleven on a mountain in Galilee (Mt. 28^{16-17}; Mark 16^{15-18}). John gives one more: (5) to the Seven on the Sea of Galilee (John 21^{1-23}).

There are thus, in all, ten appearances of Jesus reported, besides that to St. Paul: He appeared once to an aggregate of five hundred disciples, to the Eleven at least thrice, to ten of them at least four times, to seven of them at least five times, and to St. Peter no less than six times, besides the Christophany reported in Acts (10^{9-16}).

St. Paul derived his knowledge of these appearances from his personal acquaintance with St. Peter and St. James, and other members of the Jerusalem Church, on his several visits to Jerusalem mentioned in the Book of Acts and in his Epistles. Therefore his testimony is entirely independent of the statements of the Gospels, as indeed it was prior to the composition of any of them.

As regards the Five Hundred, St. Paul said to the Corinthians: "The majority survive until now." Thus several hundred witnesses of the risen Saviour were still living about twenty-five years after the ascension. St. Paul himself had met and questioned some of them; and they might be questioned by any one who desired to verify his statements.[1]

[1] *Cf.* Plummer, *Commentary on Corinthians*, p. 335 *seq.*

We thus have two independent lines of evidence, St. Paul's being entirely apart from those lines which appear in the Gospels and the Book of Acts.

We have not St. Mark's original story of the resurrection; and therefore we cannot be sure how far Luke and Matthew depend upon him. But it seems likely that their reports, as well as those in the Appendix to Mark, are based upon Mark's original, and thus upon the testimony of St. Peter. This, then, gives eleven appearances of the risen Jesus: three common to Paul and the Synoptists, and three peculiar to Paul and four to them; also, one peculiar to the Appendix to John's Gospel. The three in common are: (1) to Peter, (2) to the Eleven, (3) to all the Apostles. The second also appears in John. Thus three lines of independent evidence agree in these three. Three are peculiar to St. Paul: (1) to the Five Hundred, (2) to James, (3) to Paul himself. Four are peculiar to the Synoptic group: (1) to the Magdalene, (2) to the two disciples at Emmaus, (3) to the Ten in the upper chamber, (4) to the Eleven on a mountain in Galilee; the second and third verified by Luke's careful investigations, and the first and third also witnessed by John. The Appendix to John also reports an additional one, to the Seven on the Sea of Galilee.

Thus the evidence for the resurrection of Jesus is varied, consistent, and cumulative; such as we should expect from such a number of witnesses: and we may say that the appearances reported at an early date by St. Paul are among the most extraordinary

and important ones; and they were made known in an Epistle when most of the Apostles were still living to verify the statements if true; to correct them if incorrect or erroneous. St. Peter and St. Paul disagreed upon another matter of importance, certainly not on this.

It is difficult to see how any more complete and reliable testimony could be given for such an event.

All of these appearances except that to St. Paul occurred during the forty days between the resurrection and the ascension. In addition, we have in the Book of Acts the report of a Christophany to St. Peter (Acts 10^{9-16}), and in Revelation (1^{9}-3) another to St. John. Certainly these two chief Apostles must have been able to distinguish the voice and appearance of Jesus, when Jesus appeared to Peter at least six times during the forty days, and at least once after His ascension; and to John the beloved, at least five times during the forty days and at least once afterward. How could they have been mistaken about this? It is only what we should expect, that they made the resurrection the first principle of their theology.

(3) *The resurrection body of our Lord.*

The appearances of Jesus after the resurrection are all Christophanies, or manifestations of the glory of the Messiah, to those to whom He wished to manifest Himself and to no others. The appearance to St. Paul was some years after the forty days, in order to convert him when on his way to Damascus. Three descriptions are given of it: Acts 9^{1-19}, 22^{4-16}, 26^{9-18};

and it is also referred to in St. Paul's Epistles: Gal. $1^{1, 15-16}$; I Cor. 9^{1}; as well as in I Cor. 15^{8}; *cf.* II Cor. 11^{5}, 12^{11-12}. This event was the turning-point in St. Paul's career. He saw Jesus enveloped in glorious light, heard His voice, and knew that it was the risen Lord. The Christophanies to St. Peter and St. John were of a similar character (Acts 10^{9-16}; Rev. $1^{9\ seq.}$). The other manifestations were during the forty days. We have in all these a considerable amount of detail, which is instructive. It might be said that these Christophanies to the Apostles after the Ascension were appearances of a disembodied spirit. But the Jesus that appeared spake with an audible voice, and was visible in a glorified body, such as St. Paul describes in his report of the event and on the basis of which, in I Cor. $15^{42\ seq.}$, he represents it as the image of the resurrection body of believers.

When St. Paul classifies five manifestations of the risen Christ during the forty days with the Christophanic manifestation to himself some years afterward, he certainly implies that they all had the same general character as Christophanies. But does it imply, as some would have it, that they all were manifestations of a disembodied spirit? This would, in the first place, be contrary to all of the Gospels, and also to the context of St. Paul's teaching in this passage, where he evidently has in mind, and expressly teaches, that Christ "hath been raised from the dead, the *first-fruits* of them that are asleep" (v. ^{20}); and that *His resurrection body* is the norm of

their resurrection bodies, so that, "as we have borne the image of the earthy (the first Adam), we shall also bear the image of the heavenly (the second Adam, Christ; v. 49)." He also states the characteristics of the resurrection body: (*a*) *Incorruptible*, ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ (v. 42). This is in accordance with II Tim. 1[10], where it is said that Christ, in His first advent, "brought life and incorruption (ἀφθαρσίαν) to light through the Gospel." (*b*) *Glorious*, ἐν δόξῃ (v. 43). So Phil. 3[20, 21]: "For our commonwealth is in heaven; from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, conformed to the body of His *glory*." (*c*) *Powerful*, ἐν δυνάμει (v. 43) over against weakness. (*d*) *Spiritual*, πνευματικόν (v. 44), over against sensuous. The last two remind us of Rom. 1[4], ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, *with power, according to the spirit of holiness*.

There can be no doubt therefore that these four attributes of the risen body of Christ, the first-fruits of the resurrection, after which all Christians are to be conformed in their resurrection, were in the mind of St. Paul when he referred to the appearances of Christ after the resurrection, to himself and to the others mentioned, on six different occasions.

These qualities of the risen body are antithetical to those of the bodies of all mankind before their resurrection, when, as Paul says, they are bodies of humiliation, bodies of the earth, earthy, and, when deposited in the earth after death, are sown in corruption, in dishonor, in weakness, as sensuous bodies.

The change from the one to the other is wrought by the Spirit of God through Christ.

According to the Gospels and the Book of Acts, the flesh of Jesus saw no corruption in the grave. The nails had pierced the hands and feet, the soldiers' spear had pierced the side, the head had been crowned with thorns, the back had been bruised and torn with the scourges, He had bled profusely; but His flesh did not corrupt; decay did not begin. When He rose from the dead, He exhibited His wounds to the doubting Thomas (John 20^{27}). He called the attention of His disciples to His flesh and bones, and said: "Handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold me having" (Luke 24^{39}). He ate fish with them (Luke 24^{42-43}). And yet His risen body had properties which no other human body ever had: (1) *He appeared and disappeared at pleasure;* (2) *He was recognized or not recognized, as it pleased Him;* (3) *He entered a room without regard to doors;* (4) *He rose from the earth into the sky, and disappeared,* when He finally left His disciples. Thus the body of Jesus during the forty days seems to have been different from any other human body known to man in these and possibly other respects.

We might think that His body at the resurrection was in a state of transition between the body previous to the crucifixion and the body subsequent to the ascension; the same human body persisting through these changes, which did not affect the form of the body, however much they may have affected

the substance of which it was composed, making it independent of the laws of *material* substance and giving it some of the properties of *spiritual* substance. It was, indeed, just this change in the body of Jesus, adapting it for different conditions and circumstances, which, as St. Paul shows, makes it possible for Christians to think of their own resurrection in the same bodies which they have at death, although with different properties like those of the risen Lord.

The qualities of the risen body of Jesus are somewhat different in linguistic statement in the Gospels from those mentioned by St. Paul: and yet they are of the same general character; for they indicate a body that had not seen corruption, that was possessed of a power of body unknown before, that was spiritual rather than material, and that possessed a glory which, although it did not appear in striking forms during the forty days, yet was manifest to St. Paul in the Christophany on the way to Damascus.

It is evident, therefore, that the body of Christ after the resurrection, when He manifested Himself in Christophany to the disciples, had, in part at least, the three qualities of incorruption, power, and spirituality, and after the ascension, in His Christophanies to St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John, glory likewise.

The chief objections made to the resurrection of the body of Jesus are of the same kind as those made

against the Virgin Birth. They are *a priori* in their nature, due to hostility to anything that is supernatural. They insist that the human body of Jesus was the same kind of a body in all respects as those of other men; and therefore that it could not go through the experiences reported by the Gospels and the Epistles. They beg their major premise and their conclusion is the reverse of facts. Then, all these witnesses of the resurrection, upon whom Christianity depends, must have been mistaken, and their testimony as to the facts must be regarded as incredible.

In other words, we simply have *theorists* in contradiction with *eye-witnesses*. This situation only needs to be clearly seen, and the theorists will be put to flight.

It is not the bodily resurrection of a mere man, though he be the greatest of all men. It is the resurrection of the Son of God, the divine man. It is not the resurrection of an ordinary body, but of an extraordinary body, united at the incarnation by virgin conception once for all and forever to divinity. It is not a body with ordinary qualities; but one with those extraordinary qualities that the ideal man, the normal man, ought to possess; such indeed as alone were appropriate to the incarnate God.

The opponents of the bodily resurrection base their objections partly on supposed scientific grounds, partly on the supernatural character of these Christophanies, and partly upon the extraordinary character of the stories.

(1) It is impossible to make any valid objections

on the ground of the Criticism of the Narratives, whether Textual or Literary. There are no texts of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Book of Acts, the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, where these narratives of the resurrection do not appear. The extra one given in John is in a later addition to the Gospel, but one made before the Gospel became canonical; and so it has never been questioned by the Church. There is no actual report of the resurrection in the original Mark; but there are three predictions of it, and another final one, at the close of the Gospel, to the women at the empty tomb. These imply reports of the event itself at the close of the Gospel, or in an additional writing by the author, which is an indirect implicit witness of the best kind. But even without the story of Mark, we have all that it gives in the other witnesses; and, if we leave out of consideration the one from the addition to John, it simply reduces the number from 11 to 10.

The question of literary sources is an interesting one. What was in the lost conclusion of Mark? Was the narrative of the Appendix to Mark taken from the Jerusalem source of Acts? But the answer to these questions does not make any important difference in the situation.

(2) Historical Criticism does not impeach the witnesses because, as we have seen, they were either eye-witnesses, or writers who record the testimony of eye-witnesses, while the most of these were still alive to verify or deny the reports. These were made not very long after the event, at various dates during

the apostolic age. They are in writings, some independent, others dependent, with opportunities of verification. They are varied in form and statement, but yet harmonious, and so presenting cumulative evidence. *A priori* objections against such evidence are, to say the least, unscholarly and unreasonable.

(3) Science knows of no resurrection of any one really dead. But Science cannot say that God cannot raise the dead to life; or that Jesus Christ, if divine, could not rise from the dead of His own inherent power. We have to consider that the soul does not die in any case. It is simply the question whether the soul may not return from the spirit world to the body in the tomb and quicken it into new life.

Science cannot deny that the God-man Jesus Christ might do this. Philosophy can only demand a sufficient reason. That reason is given in the fact that it was a redemptive act for humanity as a whole.

The unique event was a return of the God-man from the abode of the dead to a brief life of manifestation in this world.

The narratives of the Gospels and the statements of the Epistles present to us a human body different from any other known to Science; but these differences are not such as imply anything that is inconsistent with a human body, or with its identity or continuity of existence. Science does not know, and cannot tell us, what is the power of life in the body, what is its structural principle, and how it is related to the soul. Psychology can tell us but

little about the nature of the soul, and the relations of soul to body. The questions of primary and secondary substance, of matter and form, of attributes and accidents, are very little advanced beyond where Aristotle left them. Modern works of Science and Philosophy shed little light on those questions. There are speculative theories enough, but little that one can rely on as true and real.

The body and soul are in constant process of change. New elements for growth are constantly needed; old elements, that have decayed, must constantly be discharged; and so it goes on, until the latter gain the mastery, and death with its corruption ensues. We are told that the body of Jesus saw no corruption in the tomb, though dead. This is contrary to the usual consequences of death. This preservation from corruption may have been an act of the Father, or of the Son Himself; or it may have been a property of the Redeemer's body itself. Science cannot deny that which is thus beyond its own scope and knowledge. The properties of the risen body of our Lord are certainly most remarkable, such as are usually attributed to ghosts, or disembodied spirits; and yet at the same time the body was not ghostly, for it had flesh, and bones, and wounds. It was, therefore, a body which shared in part in ghostly qualities, and in part in qualities of the ordinary body. Was it, then, in a state of transition from one to the other? Certainly not, because the same body that died rose and ascended, and remains in heaven, and is given to the Church in the

Eucharist. That is the teaching of Scripture and the Church; and on it is based the doctrine of the resurrection of believers in I Cor. 15. All Churches agree in this, whatever variant opinions they may have as to the nature of the Redeemer's presence, since His enthronement.

We must therefore think of the Redeemer's body as having, after the resurrection, qualities which other human bodies have not, and as being composed of substance somewhat different in character from ordinary human flesh. All this is certainly most extraordinary. But *a priori* objections amount to nothing against the abundant evidence presented in the New Testament; the basal character of the resurrection for Christianity, and its structural significance for the entire system of Christian doctrine, which would all disappear together if the resurrection of Jesus Christ could be disproved.

(4) *From the dead* = *ἐκ νεκρῶν.* This term was probably derived from Luke 24^{46}. It was probably not in the oldest Roman Creed, as it is not in the oldest Eastern Creeds. It is, however, usually attached to the resurrection in the New Testament, not only in connection with Jesus, but also in connection with mankind.

Νεκροί is *m.pl.*, *dead persons*, those who have died and whose spirits are in Hades. It is not the equivalent of *death*, or the tomb. More properly *νεκρῶν* should have the article; but it had become sufficiently definite by usage. *ἐκ* is *out of*, *from among*. The statement, therefore, is that Jesus

rose again from among the dead, from the realm of the dead; that is, from Hades as well as from the tomb, the spirit from Hades and the body from the tomb. The spirit of Jesus rejoined His body in the tomb; and so He came forth in bodily form from the tomb, and He manifested Himself to His Apostles.

The resurrection of Jesus, as the third great act of salvation, is attached by St. Paul to *justification.*

He *was delivered up for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification* (Rom. 4^{25}). Christians are identified with Christ in His crucifixion, His death, His entombment; so also in His resurrection. In that He rose from the dead, He rose conqueror of Death and of Hades. He rose no longer under the curse, no longer under the condemnation, which He had to share with mankind when He assumed humanity and became responsible for mankind as the second Adam, their surrogate, intercessor, and Saviour. Now for the first time justified, as the ideal, the perfect head of humanity, all His people are justified in Him. As St. Paul says: "Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth; who is he that shall condemn? It is Christ Jesus that died, yea rather, that was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" (Rom. $8^{33\text{-}35}$).

All the regenerate, all who truly belong to Christ, are regarded no longer as sharing in the inheritance of the first Adam and all the entail of sin and death

in all previous generations, and in their own past life; but as sharing in the inheritance of the second Adam, who interposes for them—their cause being His cause, and guarantees their present justification, and their eventual sanctification and glorification.

CHAPTER VIII

ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN

The sixth article of the Creed is: *ascended into heaven.* This has remained essentially the same, only the Latin and modern translations substitute the indicative for the participle. Irenæus in his first form has: "*and the assumption* (*ἀνάληψιν*) *in the flesh* (*ἔνσαρκον*) *into heaven of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord*"; in his second form: "*and was received in glory.*"

Tertullian varies his verb: in the first form, *receptum;* in the second, *resumptum;* in the third, *ereptum;* in all, *into heaven.* The Nicene and other Eastern Creeds use *ἀνελθόντα.*

The ascension intervenes between the resurrection and the session at the right hand of the Father, and in itself is involved in these two redemptive acts of Christ. It is implied, sometimes in the resurrection, sometimes in the session; the former usually, in St. Paul's Epistles. Indeed, the resurrection implies the ascent from Hades and the ascent to heaven; the whole process may be considered a resurrection, and often is, by St. Paul. Thus Eph. 1^{20}: "when He raised Him from the dead, and made Him to sit at His right hand in the heavenly (places)." If the ascension is seldom mentioned in the New Testament, it is implied both in the resurrection and in the ses-

sion. Indeed, there could be no session at the right hand of God without the enthronement, which is itself the goal of the ascension.

The ascension is specifically mentioned in Mark 16^{19}; Luke 24^{51}; Acts $1^{2, 9-11}$; and foretold, John 6^{62}, 20^{17}.

All the passages which report Christ as coming from heaven in a second Advent, imply the ascension to heaven. The ascent is frequently implied in the Pauline Epistles, though seldom stated; *cf.* Eph. 4^{8-10}, possibly I Tim. 3^{16}.[1]

The ascension is in order to the enthronement which it implies. As Jesus said in His parable, Luke 19^{12-27}: "A certain nobleman went into a far country, to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return," etc. Rev. 5 gives the scene: the ascending Lord appearing in heaven before the throne, and welcomed with the worship of all heaven and the new song:

> "Worthy art thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for Thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with Thy blood of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and madest them unto our God a kingdom of priests, and they shall reign upon the earth."

St. Peter says: "Him did God exalt at His right hand (to be) a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel and remission of sins" (Acts 5^{31}).

The passages quoted from the New Testament vary. The most of them make God the Father the agent of the ascension, and the Son passive. But the Creeds make the Son active. This is the usage

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 229.

of the Gospel of John, and occasionally elsewhere. The exact phrase of the Creed, however, is not found in the New Testament.

The ascension of Christ begins the reign of Christ over His Messianic kingdom; upon it depends the advent of the divine Spirit at Pentecost, which may be regarded as His coronation gift to His kingdom.

It is just because He is the second Adam, incorporating a new humanity in Himself, that His ascension is their ascension. So Eph. 2^{4} *seq.*: "But God, being rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead through our trespasses, quickened us together with Christ—and raised us up with Him, and made us to sit with Him in the heavenly (places) in Christ Jesus"; *cf.* Eph. 1^{3}; Col. 3^{1-3}; I Peter 1^{3-5}.

The inheritance of the first Adam, with its entail of sin, guilt, death, and corruption, is put away by the Christian, who through the ascension of Christ has secured in heaven an inheritance of everlasting grace and glory in the second Adam.

CHAPTER IX

ENTHRONED AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER

The seventh article of the Creed is: *and seated on the right hand of the Father.*

Irenæus does not give this clause, but combines it with the previous one. Tertullian, in his three forms, has the clause, only varying in the forms of the same verb.

The original Nicene Creed, as the Creed of Eusebius, has it not, but the Constantinopolitan has it.

The received form of the Apostles' Creed has been enlarged, so as to be: "*sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.*" It is evident that *God the Father Almighty* has simply been taken over from Article I, and has exactly the same force and meaning here as there.

The Biblical passages at the back of this article of the Creed are numerous. St. Paul is especially rich in them: "For He must reign, till He hath put all His enemies under His feet" (I Cor. 15^{25}). "Wherefore also God highly exalted Him, and gave unto Him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of (things) in heaven, and (things) on earth, and (things) under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that

Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2^{9-11}).

"Made Him to sit at His right hand (*καθίσας*) in the heavenly (places), far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this age, but also in that which is to come: and He put all things in subjection under His feet, and gave Him to be head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all" (Eph. 1^{20-23}; *cf.* also Col. 3^{1}, and Heb. 1^{3-4}, 7^{26}, 8^{1}, 12^{22-24}).

Jesus said to the high priest before the Sanhedrim: "Ye will see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power" (Mt. 26^{64}; Mark 14^{62}; Luke 22^{69}). Jesus tells his disciples (Mt. 28^{18}): "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth." Mark 16^{19} has: "was received up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God."

St. Peter at Pentecost tells the people: "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly, that God hath made Him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified" (Acts 2^{36}).

The Gospels, Ignatius, and the principal Eastern Creeds have *ἐκ δεξιῶν* after the Greek of Psalm 110^{1}; the Epistles and Western Creeds, and some Eastern Creeds, *ἐν δεξιᾷ*; the same variety of usage as in Hebrew, מימין and לימין, without difference in meaning. The terms of the Creed are nearest to Col. 3^{1}.

It is quite probable that the earliest form of the Old Roman Creed was *at the right hand of God*, as in the New Testament. The phrase *right hand of the*

Father, while in all known Creeds, Eastern and Western, and also in Tertullian and Justin, and so in the Roman Creed of the second century, was probably a change made to assimilate it with the first and second articles of the Creed.

(1) *The right hand of God*, or *of the Father* is the place of highest honor and rank that the Father can give; the place of the Son and Crown Prince, to whom all authority has been given.

(2) The *sitting* is in the pregnant sense of *sitting enthroned*, in accordance with the usage of the Messianic Psalms 2 and 110, and also of the New Testament.

The doctrine therefore is, that Christ is enthroned with the supreme dominion over heaven, and earth, and Hades, from the time of His enthronement onward until His second advent.

The session of Christ at the right hand is a session as Prophet, Priest, and King. As *Prophet*, He sends the divine Spirit to be the teacher, counsellor, and guide of the leaders of the Church and of the Church itself.

As *King*, He rules over the universe, subduing all enemies of the kingdom, Satan, wicked spirits, evil men, the last enemy Death. As *King*, He is the head of the Church as the kingdom of redemption, directing all the forces of His kingdom for the redemption of His subjects.

As *Priest*, He offers up perpetual sacrifice in heaven, sums up the universal worship in Himself, intercedes and interposes for His people.

The capital city of the kingdom of God is removed in Christ from earth to heaven, and the new Jerusalem takes the place of the old, with its temple, altar, purifications, and sacrifices; and all sacred institutions centre in Christ alone.

St. Paul delights in this theme, the heavenly empire, the reign of Christ over His kingdom—a comfort and joy to Christians suffering under the earthly reign of wicked kings and emperors.

Thus: "He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens, that He might fill all things. And He gave some (to be) apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ: till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" (Eph. 4^{10-13}).

"Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave Himself up for it; that He might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the word, that He might present the Church to Himself a glorious (Church), not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish" (Eph. 5^{25-27}).

In the Epistle to the Colossians St. Paul tells us that in Christ "are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden" (2^{3}). To know Christ is to know knowledge from the centre of it, the primary source of it, in the Logos. He is the supreme prophet and

teacher. So: "Our commonwealth is in heaven" (Phil. 3^{20}). There is our citizenship, there we really belong; not here on the earth, which is only a place of temporary sojourn. There our King is; there is our refuge and eternal home. According to the Epistle to the Hebrews, Christ is at once the great High Priest, and the one great eternal sacrifice, once offered, but of eternal validity with the Father and to His people on earth, through their fellowship with Him in His priesthood and sacrifice (*cf.* I Tim. 2^{5-6}).

The reign of Christ is the reign also of His Church, His body, which is regnant in the world (*cf.* Rev. 5^{9-10}). So during the Millennium the martyrs reign with Christ (Rev. 20^{4}).

It is just because of the unity of Christ with His people that the Church is His body, and so shares with Him in His conquest of the world and the subjugation of all enemies. This has always been the great incentive to Christian missions, though too often it has led to an undue exaltation of the material and political interests of the Church, especially in the history of the Papacy.

Nothing is more needed in the Church than a revival of the conception of the reign of Christ. We worship a Christ, a Lord and King, who once died on Calvary, but now lives and reigns over the Church and the universe; and so not merely a historic Christ, but a present Christ, who, though absent on His heavenly throne so far as our senses are concerned, is yet present by His spirit and power in all human affairs, especially in His Church; and who grants His

special presence in the Eucharist. And it is the privilege of the Christian, by the use of the religious imagination in faith and love, to realize that presence and live under the influence of it. That removes all doubt, all anxiety, all fears for the future, and gives confidence and certainty that we are working with Christ for results which are certain and of everlasting importance.

CHAPTER X

THE SECOND ADVENT

The eighth article of the Creed represents the Second Advent of Christ as His sixth and final redemptive act. It is a judgment of final salvation to His people, and of final condemnation to all others.

The Creed has: *From thence He will come to judge the living and the dead.* This article has remained unchanged from the beginning. Irenæus enlarges upon this theme. His first form has: "And His *parousia* from heaven in the glory of the Father to comprehend all things under one head." His second form has: "Shall come in glory, the Saviour of those who are saved, and the Judge of those who are judged; and sending into eternal fire the perverters of the truth and the despisers of His Father and His Advent."

Tertullian has, in his first and second forms, the words of the Creed; in his third form: "He will come again with glory to take the saints into the enjoyment of eternal life and the celestial promises, and to judge the wicked with eternal fire, after the resuscitation of both with the restitution of the flesh." The Creed of Eusebius has: "will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead." The Nicene Creed has: "coming to judge the living

and the dead." The Constantinopolitan adds from the revised Creed of Jerusalem, "*with glory*," and "*whose kingdom shall have no end.*"

There are two items in this article: (1) *the coming;* (2) the purpose of it, *judgment;* both common New Testament ideas.

(1) *The coming.* There are several New Testament terms for this: (*a*) The Gospel term is *παρουσία, presence, advent* (Mt. $24^{3, 27, 37, 39}$; I Thes. 2^{19}, 3^{13}, 4^{15}, 5^{23}; II Thes. $2^{1, 8}$; I Cor. 15^{23}; James $5^{7, 8}$; II Peter 1^{16}, 3^{4}; I John 2^{28}); the second presence of Christ being in antithesis with His first presence. (*b*) The Epistles use also *ἀποκάλυψις, revelation* (II Thes. 1^{7}; I Cor. 1^{7}; I Peter $1^{7, 13}$, 4^{13}). (*c*) The Pastorals use *ἐπιφάνεια, epiphany, appearance* (I Tim. 6^{14}; II Tim. 1^{10}, $4^{1, 8}$; Titus 2^{13}).

None of these technical terms of the New Testament are used in the Creed, but only the simple one, *coming, ἐρχόμενον.* This is to be explained from the watchword of the early Christians *Our Lord cometh.* The Aramaic, מרנא אתה = *μαρὰν ἀθά*, is preserved in I Cor. 16^{22}. Varied forms of *ἔρχομαι* are used by Jesus Himself and His Apostles for the second advent. Thus Jesus Himself predicts His own advent: "When He cometh in the glory of Himself and of the Father and of the Holy angels" (Luke 9^{26}); and again, "And then shall they see the Son of Man coming on a cloud with power and great glory" (Luke 21^{27}).[1]

[1] *Cf.* also Mt. 10^{23}, 16^{27}, 25^{31}; Mark 8^{38}; Luke 23^{42}; Acts 1^{11}; I Cor. 4^{5}, 11^{26}; I Thes. 5^{2}; II Thes. 1^{10}.

Undoubtedly the early Christians expected the speedy advent of the Lord, and in times of persecution ardently longed for it. So Christians in all ages, at some times more than others, have looked and prayed for the return of Christ, in the spirit of Rev. 22^{20}: "He which testifieth these things saith: Yea, I come quickly. Amen: come, Lord Jesus."

(2) *The judgment of the living and the dead,* κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, is common to all the Creeds, and is doubtless original to the Apostles' Creed, as it is a phrase of the New Testament (Acts 10^{42}; II Tim. 4^{1}; I Peter 4^{5}); so also of the Apostolic Fathers, based thereon.

The purpose of the advent is *judgment.* This is evident in many of the parables of the kingdom, given by Jesus, and in numerous passages of the Epistles and the Apocalypse. But *judgment* is used here in the comprehensive meaning, as in the Parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Mt. $25^{31\text{-}46}$). It is a judgment which justifies and rewards the righteous, and which condemns and punishes the wicked.

It is significant that both the living and the dead are comprehended: that means, of course, those still living in this world at the time of the advent, and those who have died. It is a universal judgment of all the living and all the dead. This is in accord with what we have learned as to the descent into Hades to preach the Gospel to the dead. All will be judged by the Gospel, which they have either believed unto salvation, or rejected unto damnation.

The doctrine of the Millennium in Rev. 20 has disturbed the doctrine of the second advent from the earliest times.[1] It has been associated with three different conceptions: (1) the state of blessedness and glory of Old Testament prophecy; (2) the conversion of Jews and Gentiles, and the triumphs of the Gospel of New Testament prophecy; (3) the apocalyptic measurement of time of the Jewish apocalypses of the four centuries in the midst of which Jesus lived. All of these have influenced, more or less, Christians from the earliest times to the present.

The Apostles' Creed does not either implicitly or explicitly in any of its forms give a doctrine of the Millennium; but simply teaches the second advent for judgment. The association of the Millennium with the state of blessedness and glory of the Old Testament, involved the premillennial advent of Christ. This was held by Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian; and they certainly did not regard this clause of the Apostles' Creed as against them, though their view really involved two advents, one for the salvation of the Church, the other for the condemnation and destruction of the wicked. This was regarded as a private opinion in the Ante-Nicene Church. But its association with Jewish Ebionitism was fatal to its general adoption in the first century; its association with Montanism destroyed it in the second century; and it was condemned by a provincial synod in Asia Minor, by Pope Victor (192) and Caius, a Roman Presbyter (220), and by Origen and Diony-

[1] *V. Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 341 *seq.*

sius the Great of Egypt. Jerome, Epiphanius, and Augustine sharply opposed it; and from their time on, the Church as the kingdom of God was supposed to be itself existing as the Millennium kingdom. The Premillenarian view was revived at the Reformation by some Anabaptists, but opposed by all the Reformers. It was revived again in the seventeenth century, but opposed by all the great Protestant bodies.

The identification of the Millennium with the conversion of Israel and the Christianization of the world does not involve the premillennial advent, and it has been a common opinion among Protestants since the seventeenth century. The Augustinian opinion that the millennial kingdom is the Church itself between the advents, preceded by a brief period of persecution and followed by another brief period of conflict preceding the second advent, is still the prevailing opinion and most in accord with the Scriptures, the Creeds, and Confessions of the Churches; although the other opinions are held by esteemed theologians, and tolerated all over the Protestant world.

The Creed looks forward to the second advent of the Lord as *imminent;* not in any temporal sense, but in the sense that the Church awaits it as the goal of her hopes, and knows that the delay is because of the forbearance of God and the lovingkindness of Christ; with whom the salvation of mankind is the chief purpose of the delay, and with whom a thousand years are but as a day to men, who are obliged

to conceive of events in temporal relations, limited by the brevity of human life.

With the second advent of our Lord the salvation of Christians first reaches its end, sanctification is completed, and glorification takes place. The entire interval between regeneration and the second advent is taken up with the sanctification of the Church.

"As Christ also loved the Church, and gave Himself up for it; that He might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the word, that He might present the Church to Himself a glorious one, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish" (Eph. 5^{25-27}).

The Church has not yet been so sanctified; though nearly nineteen centuries have passed since Christ began to sanctify it. But that is the ideal, that is the goal to which the Church is steadily and constantly advancing. The whole Church has to be sanctified, and all nations are to participate in it. It is difficult for any individual to become much more sanctified than the Church, especially as his sanctification is through his attachment to the Church as well as to Christ through the Church. Even for the individual, St. John sees perfection only with the advent of our Lord: "Beloved, now are we children of God, and it is not yet made manifest what we shall be. We know that, if He *shall be manifested*, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him even as He is. And every one that hath this

hope (set) *on Him*, purifieth himself, even as He is pure" (I John 3^{2-3}).

The Christian cannot be separated from the body of Christ, the Church; and his complete sanctification depends upon the sanctification of the whole of Christ's body. This makes it necessary for us to look upon the Middle State after death as a great state of sanctification for the Christians who have gone there justified and regenerated, but only partially sanctified.

It is true that the common opinion among American Christians is that at death, that is, in the moment of death, Christians are completely sanctified. But that is an error against the teaching of Scripture and of the Church universal.

It is true the Westminster Shorter Catechism says: "The souls of believers are, *at their death*, made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory."

But it is probable that the authors meant by "at their death" *in the state of death*, and not sanctification by an immediate act of God; for that would be contrary to their definition of sanctification as a process, or growth. But in any case such an idea is contrary to the teaching of John Calvin, and many of the greatest and best Protestant theologians. It raises at once the question, if believers can be sanctified by a divine *fiat* at death, why not at once in this life at regeneration? But in fact, as we have seen, it is the Church as Christ's body, which is in a process of sanctification completed only at the second advent; and it would make a schism in the body, if the dead saints were completely sanctified by successive acts when they die, the living only by the long, hard struggles with sin and evil completed only after two thousand years or more.

We may also say, on the other hand, that unbelievers are not ripe for judgment. Modern Christians rightly rebel at the idea of the great masses of mankind going into ever-

lasting punishment in their ignorance and folly, without having any fair chance of salvation.

This originated from the false idea that there is a judgment at death, which consigns men at *that* time to their final place, and an overlooking of the distinction between the intermediate and the final state.

The Church universal before the Reformation held to the continuance of the processes of redemption in the Middle State, as have many of the best Protestant theologians also. But it has been usual to limit salvation to those who have been baptized, or have had what Roman Catholic theologians call *the baptism of desire*, that is, those who have sought God sincerely in accordance with their light and knowledge.

But modern theologians, building on a more careful study of the Scriptures, and reasoning from the character of God and the work of Christ, in His descent into Hades, and His reign over Hades, as well as over the earth, are inclined to extend the work of salvation beyond the limits of the earth, and to think of an evangelization of those who have died impenitent; so that no one is really, finally lost who does not deliberately and finally, either in this life or in the next, reject Christ and His salvation: for it is felt that only such a one can justly be condemned by the judgment of the last great Day. Not till that Day can Christians be worthy of their final salvation, or unbelievers worthy of final condemnation.

It is a great merit of the Apostles' Creed that it attaches salvation to Jesus Christ our Saviour, and

considers each stage of it from the point of view of one of the six saving acts of our Lord. This urges the Christian to consider salvation as a whole.

Modern British and American theology has exaggerated the doctrine of the atonement and salvation by the cross, and overlooked the other five saving acts of Christ, and our salvation as dependent thereon. Some modern theologians, like Henry B. Smith, and especially some Anglicans, have reaffirmed the Incarnation as a great act of salvation; and the Premillenarians have emphasized, and indeed exaggerated, the Second Advent. But few have given the Resurrection of Christ, His Enthronement, and His Reign their importance in the work of salvation. It is just in those saving acts of our Lord that we have our hopes for the future; for it is in our study of them that the doctrine and practice of sanctification are to be advanced. The usual Protestant exaggeration of *faith* in the work of salvation should pass over into a fuller recognition of the importance of *hope* and *love;* and all three must be combined, if we would comprehend the salvation of Christ in its fulness. And in this more comprehensive conception and working out of our salvation, Roman Catholics and Protestants are more likely to agree, and so Church Unity will be greatly advanced.

CHAPTER XI

THE HOLY SPIRIT

The ninth article of the Creed, the first of the third trinitarian section, expresses faith in the Holy Spirit as the third Person of the Holy Trinity.

The received form of this article is: *Credo in spiritum sanctum, I believe in the Holy Spirit.*

The Creed of the fourth century is without the *Credo*, thus connecting this article as all the previous ones with the *Credo* of the first article, by the conjunction *and;* so Irenæus, Rufinus, Marcellus, and others in the West, and the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds in the East, and those of Eusebius and Jerusalem upon which they depend. Tertullian attaches this article to the Christological articles, and makes the Holy Spirit a mission from Christ.

The original form of the Creed, therefore, cannot be doubtful, except as to the order of the adjective, and as to the use of the article. The received form has been assimilated to the Constantinopolitan.

The article is most probable also, as in all forms of the Greek Creeds, Eastern and Western, of early date, except where the numeral, ἕν, takes its place, which is still more emphatically definite than the article. The only early evidence for the failure of the article is in the first form of Irenæus, who has: εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον; but that is immediately followed

by the article τὸ, with other attributes; so that it is not really an exception.

It is true that some later forms of the Creed, as in the Psalter of Æthelstan, have εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον; but this is very slight evidence. Moreover the order of the baptismal formula of Matthew and the *Didache* (7) is τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. As we have seen, the Creed is based on the baptismal formula; and it would naturally follow that formula in the use of the article, and in the place of the adjective.

> Dr. McGiffert is wrong here as elsewhere in dealing with the Creed, showing the perils of an *a priori* theory. He adopts as the original reading, εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον; and then on the basis of that supposition argues that this section of the Creed was not based on the baptismal formula of Matthew.

The Holy Spirit is given in the third original article of the Creed as the Third Person of the Trinity, the first article being: *I believe in the One God, the Father Almighty;* the second: *in Jesus Christ, God's Son;* the third: *in the Holy Spirit;* the three being equally objects of personal faith.

The doctrine of the divine Spirit pervades the Bible. In the Old Testament the divine Spirit is the energy, the active power of God: (1) *as a spirit stimulating the prophets and directing them in their teaching* (Ho. 9^{7}; Zc. 7^{12}: Is. 48^{16}); (2) *as a power taking effective part in the creation of the world* (Gn. 1^{2}), *and in theophanies* (Ez. 1^{12}, 10^{17}), *and in transformations of nature* (Is. 32^{15}); (3) *as an ethical power in the moral development of the nation of Israel* (Is.

30^{1}, 63^{9-14}), *and in the cultivation of individuals* (Psalms 51^{13}, 143^{10}; Pr. 1^{23}).[1]

These same characteristics of the divine Spirit appear in the New Testament with added emphasis and more extensive working.

(1) The divine Spirit is the agent in the Virgin Birth of our Lord, as we have seen (*v.* p. 93).

(2) The divine Spirit, in the theophanic form of a dove, descends upon Jesus at His baptism and endows Him with Messianic charismata, in accordance with the prediction of Is. 11.

"And straightway coming up out of the water, (John) saw the heavens rent asunder, and the Spirit as a dove descending upon Him: and a voice came out of the heavens, Thou art my beloved Son, in Thee I am well pleased" (Mark 1^{10-11}).

(3) The divine Spirit descends in theophany on the day of Pentecost to take possession of the Apostles and endow them with the charism of the apostolate to organize the Church.

"And when the day of Pentecost was now come, they were all together in one place. And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire; and it sat upon each one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance" (Acts 2^{1-4}).

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Use of* רוח *in the Old Testament*, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. XIX.

The Holy Spirit also takes possession of the Samaritan and Gentile converts in connection with their confirmation by the Apostles (Acts 8^{15-20}, 10^{44-47}, 11^{15-17}, 15^{8-9}, 19^{2-6}).

(4) The divine Spirit inhabits the Christian and every member of the Church in accordance with the teaching of St. Paul:

> "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and (that) the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" (I Cor. 3^{16}).
>
> "Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit which is in you, which ye have from God?" (I Cor. 6^{19}).
>
> "The Spirit Himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God" (Rom. 8^{16}).
>
> "For through (Christ) we both have our access in one Spirit unto the Father. So then ye are no more strangers and sojourners, but ye are fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom each several building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit" (Eph. 2^{18-22}).
>
> "That good thing which was committed unto (thee) guard through the Holy Spirit which dwelleth in us" (II Tim. 1^{14}).

(5) The Holy Spirit is the active agent of regeneration in connection with the baptism of converts and their incorporation into the Christian Church.

> "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except one be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.
>
> "Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born from above. The wind bloweth where it will, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit" (John 3^{5-8}).

(6) The Holy Spirit distributes the charisms of Christian service.

"Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord. And there are diversities of workings, but the same God, who worketh all things in all. But to each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal. For to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit: to another faith, in the same Spirit; and to another gifts of healings, in the one Spirit; and to another, workings of miracles; and to another prophecy; and to another discernings of spirits; to another (divers) kinds of tongues; and to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally even as He will. For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ. For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free; and were all made to drink of one Spirit" (I Cor. 12^{4-13}).

(7) The Holy Spirit is the intellectual and moral guide of all Christians, as well as of the body of Christ; the surrogate of Christ; the Paraclete, or Counsellor of the Church and the Christian.

"And when they lead you (to judgment), and deliver you up, be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye; for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit" (Mark 13^{11}).

"But the Paraclete, (even) the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you" (John 14^{26}; *cf.* 7^{37-39}; Acts 1^{4-8}).

"Walk by the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh. . . . But if ye are led by the Spirit, ye are not under the Law. . . . If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk" (Gal. $5^{16-18, 25}$; *cf.* I Thes. 4^{7-8}; Rom. 8^{2}).

(8) The Holy Spirit is the Third Person of the Holy Trinity.

(*a*) In the Old Testament the divine Spirit is distinguished from God Himself, as the power or influence going forth from God. The divine Wisdom is distinguished from God Himself, as the architect in the creation, and the teacher of man. And the theophanies are distinguished from God Himself, as modes of divine manifestation. But the divine Spirit, the divine Wisdom, and the various theophanies are not clearly discriminated from one another; and no two of them are associated with God in a Trinity. The Old Testament asserts the unity and not the triunity of God.

(*b*) There is no doctrine of the divine Trinity in the Jewish Alexandrian theology, or the Jewish Palestinian theology. The theological distinction between the transcendent God and God manifesting Himself in nature as *Logos*, *Shekina*, *Memra*, and Spirit, does not amount to a two in one, still less is there any conception of three in one.

(*c*) Jesus, in the Synoptic Gospels, distinguished Himself from God the Father as the Son of the Father; but gives essentially the same doctrine of the divine Spirit as appears in the Old Testament.

(*d*) In the farewell discourses of the Gospel of John, Jesus declares: (*a*) *that He is in the Father and the Father in Him.*

> "Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I say unto you I speak not from myself: but the Father abiding in me doeth His works. Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me" (John 14^{10-11}).

(β) *That the Father and the Son will come in the Spirit and abide in the faithful.*

> "And I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may be with you forever, (even) the Spirit of Truth: whom the world cannot receive; for it beholdeth Him not, neither knoweth Him: ye know Him; for He abideth with you, and shall be in you. I will not leave you desolate: I come unto you. Yet a little while, and the world beholdeth Me no more; but ye behold Me: because I live, ye shall live also. In that day ye shall know that I am in My Father, and ye in Me, and I in you. He that hath My commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth Me: and he that loveth Me shall be loved of My Father, and I will love him, and will manifest Myself unto him. . . . If a man love Me, he will keep My word: and My Father will love him, and We will come unto him, and make Our abode with him" (John $14^{16\text{-}23}$).

(γ) *That the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father, and is sent by the Son.* "But when the Paraclete is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, (even) the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father, He shall bear witness of Me" (John 15^{26}).

Thus Jesus in this Gospel represents the Son to be divine, and the Spirit to be personal, as another Paraclete taking His place as the counsellor of His disciples.

(*e*) The Gospels agree in representing that, at the baptism of Jesus, the Father recognized Jesus as His Son, and the Holy Spirit descended from heaven upon Jesus in the form of a dove. The Spirit is distinguished from the Father by manifesting Himself in a different form.

(*f*) The great Commission has the Trinitarian formula: "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the

nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Mt. 28^{19}).

This comes not from Jesus, nor from St. Matthew, but from the final author of the Gospel (*v.* p. 15). It, however, expresses the faith of the apostolic Church when the Gospel of Matthew was written.

(*g*) The salutation of the First Epistle of Peter (1^{2}) associates the Three in redemption, in speaking of the foreknowledge of God the Father, the sanctification by the Spirit, and the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.

(*h*) In the First Epistle to the Corinthians the diversities of charisms are contrasted in successive clauses with the same Spirit, the same Lord, and the same God: the Three are associated with the same charisms and the unity is in the association (I Cor. 12^{4-13}, *v.* p. 177).

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians associates the Three in a benediction (II Cor. 13^{14}): "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you all."

While these passages do not explicitly teach the personality of the Spirit, the parallelism of the Spirit with Christ and God seems to imply it.

(*i*) The personality of the Spirit is apparently taught in Rom. 8^{26-27}.

> "And in like manner the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity: for we know not how to pray as we ought; but the Spirit Himself maketh intercession for (us) with groanings which cannot be uttered; and He that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the *mind* of the Spirit, because He maketh intercession for the saints according to (the will of) God."

(*j*) According to the Epistle to the Ephesians the three are so associated as to imply at the same time unity and personal distinctions.

> Eph. 2^{18} teaches access to the Father through Christ, and in the Spirit:
>
> "For through Him we both have our access in one Spirit unto the Father."
>
> The Christian body, as the temple of God, has Christ as the corner-stone and God as its inhabitant in the Spirit, according to Eph. $2^{20\text{-}22}$: "Being built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom each several building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord; and in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit."
>
> The unity of the Church is in one Spirit, one Lord, and one God, according to Eph. $4^{3\text{-}6}$: "Giving diligence to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.
>
> "(There is) one body, and *one Spirit*, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; *one Lord*, one faith, one baptism, *one God* and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all."
>
> The personality of the Spirit seems to be implied in Eph. 4^{30}. "And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, in whom ye were sealed unto the day of redemption."

The doctrine of the Trinity as a sum of all the New Testament statements, involves the personality of the Spirit and the deity of the Son. There is overwhelming evidence as to the divinity of the Spirit and the personality of the Son. The divinity of the Son, which appears at least in the four Gospels, in Philippians, Colossians, Hebrews, and the Johannine writings; and the personality of the Spirit, which appears in Romans, Ephesians, and the Johannine writings, make it necessary to construct a doctrine of the Trinity in which the divine nature

of the three may be conserved, the personality of the three may be stated, and the unity of God maintained. The New Testament does not construct such a doctrine. That was left for the mind of the Church under the guidance of the divine Spirit.

Faith in the Holy Spirit is faith in the Holy Spirit as made known in Holy Scripture, and as known in Christian experience, in baptismal regeneration, and in the religious and moral growth of the Christian and of the Church.

The early Fathers do not give the whole doctrine of the Holy Spirit, but only portions of it here and there.

Thus Irenæus in his first form adds: "Who through the prophets preached the dispensations and the advents" (*Adv. Hær.*, I, 10[1]); in his third form: "Who furnishes us with a knowledge of the truth, and has set forth the dispensation of the Father and the Son, in virtue of which He dwells in every generation of men, according to the will of the Father" (*Adv. Hær.*, IV, 33[7]).

Tertullian in his second form has: "He thence did send, according to His promise, from the Father, the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, the Sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (*Adv. Prax.*, 2); in his third form: "Sent in His place the power of the Holy Spirit to guide believers."

In these several passages, which might be greatly multiplied, we have these definite thoughts: (1)

The divinity of the Spirit; (2) The personality of the Spirit. (3) The Holy Spirit is the one who spake in the prophets; in the prophetic inspiration not only of those of the Old Testament but of the New Testament prophets likewise. (4) The Holy Spirit is the Paraclete, counsellor, and guide of the Church and the individual; (5) The intellectual guide into all truth; (6) The moral guide; (7) Implicitly also, as connected with baptism, the agent of regeneration, and of union with Christ and the Church; (8) As dwelling in the Church and the Christian.

CHAPTER XII

HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH

The tenth article of the Creed, as the first of the articles on the work of the Holy Spirit, expresses faith in the Church as holy, having the same attribute as the Holy Spirit, who originates it and inhabits it.

The received form of this article is: *the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints.*

The Creed of the fourth century had: *Holy Church,* and this was without doubt the original in the Old Roman Creed. The Constantinopolitan inserts *one* and *apostolic.* The Creed of Jerusalem has: *in one Holy Catholic Church.*

(1) The term *Church,* ἐκκλησία, *ecclesia,* is Greek in origin, and based on the New Testament.

Church is used in the New Testament for the *local congregation,* and also for *the whole body of Christians* under Christ as the head of the Church. It is only this latter sense which belongs to the Creed. The Church of Christ was one organization under the government of the apostolic ministry instituted by Christ, just as Israel was one theocracy under Yahweh and the anointed of Yahweh. According to I Peter 2^5, the Christian body is "a spiritual house, . . . a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ." So

Justin represents the unity of Christians as the true *Israel of God* (*Trypho*, 11) in accordance with St. Paul (Gal. 6^{16}), and in fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy.

The Church is, therefore, conceived as embracing all true Christians—all who have been baptized into the faith of Christ, and into union and communion with Christ. This Church is, and can only be, *one*. That was implied in faith in *holy Church*. This is the original form, when the Church was externally as well as internally *one*, and when Ebionites and Gnostics were not considered as belonging to the Church.

Later, when organizations were established alongside of and as rivals of the Church, the term *one* was added, as in the Creed of Jerusalem and the Constantinopolitan, to emphasize *the unity* of the Church.

This unity of the Church is in accordance with Eph. 4^{3-6}: "Giving diligence to keep the *unity* of the Spirit in the bond of peace—one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God, and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all."

The union with Christ is effected by faith and baptism; and so all who are united to Christ by a living faith are in the communion of the Church, and all who are baptized by valid baptism are in union with the organized Church.

The division of the Church into separate and in-

dependent, and even conflicting, jurisdictions cannot destroy the vital union of faith, or the organic union effected by baptism. Heresy and schism impair the unity, but cannot destroy it. Really the term *Church*, interpreted in accordance with the usage of the New Testament, implies all that was subsequently added to it in the successive revisions and enlargements of the Creed.

(2) *Holy*, ἅγιος, as applied to the Church, as the *pl.*, ἅγιοι, to Christians, does not imply Christian perfection, but simply *consecration*—that the persons or things have been *hallowed*, made *sacred*. This hallowing of the Church was accomplished on the day of Pentecost by the descent of the Holy Spirit to organize the Church and to dwell in it as a sacred temple. The Holy Spirit imparts His own special attribute to the Church, which is His work and charge.

This hallowing is effected for every individual Christian, who is born of water and the Spirit, in baptism. Thus this article naturally and with propriety immediately follows, and is dependent upon faith in the Holy Spirit.

This term *Holy Church* was especially characteristic of the usage of the Roman Church; as we see in Hermas, *Vis.*, I, 1^{1-3}, 4^{1}. This was the only adjective that was used in connection with Church in the Old Roman Creed until the fourth or fifth centuries.

In the later forms of the Creed the attributes "catholic" and "apostolic" were added to make

explicit what was before implicit, that the Church was one, universal, and apostolic in foundation and character.

In the fourth and fifth centuries other Creeds than the Roman began to introduce other terms into the Creed.

(3) The term *catholic* is not a New Testament term, like *Church;* but it seems to have originated in Antioch. We first meet it in Ignatius: "*Where Jesus may be, there is the catholic Church*" (*Ep. Smyrn.*, 8). "That He might set up an ensign unto all ages through His resurrection for His saints and faithful people, among Jews or among Gentiles, in one body of His Church" (*Ep. Smyrn.*, 1).

Again, the letter of the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp is addressed "to all the sojourning Churches of the Holy and Catholic Church throughout every place"; (1) the martyr offers prayer "*for the whole catholic Church throughout the habitable world*"; (8) and Jesus Christ is represented as "*the shepherd of the catholic Church throughout the habitable world*" (19).

The Muratorian Fragment of the last half of the second century uses the term *catholic Church* twice as synonymous with "one Church spread through the whole world."

Irenæus says: "The catholic Church possesses one and the same faith throughout the whole world" (*Adv. Hær.*, I, 10[3]). We may safely say that by the close of the second century the term *catholic* had become a common name for *the Church throughout the*

world. And this meaning it has, in fact, always maintained.[1]

> Therefore Prof. McGiffert is wrong, when he says (*Apostles' Creed*, p. 32): "At the time when it was inserted in the Creed, it had already acquired an exclusive meaning, and it was that meaning therefore which attached to it in the Creed; belief being expressed not in the Church universal, but in the particular institution which was known as the Catholic Church and was distinguished from all schismatic and heretical bodies, the orthodox catholic church which was in communion with the church of Rome."
>
> He is altogether mistaken when he says that "the common Protestant interpretation of the article in the Creed, which makes it refer to the holy church universal, is therefore historically incorrect." In fact, the term *catholic* is of Eastern, not Roman origin.[2]

The term *catholic* did not get into the Roman Creed until after the fourth century; but made its way from the Creed of Jerusalem, through Nicetas, into the West, supported by the influence of the Constantinopolitan. Its meaning was already involved in the term *Church* itself, according to New Testament conceptions.

The term *catholic* does not admit the existence of more than one Church; but no more does the term *Church*, in New Testament usage; no more can any such thing as a plurality of Churches be admitted as an article of faith. Faith is now, as it always has been, among Protestants as well as among Greeks, Copts, Armenians, Roman Catholics, and all organized Christian Churches, *in one holy catholic Church*.

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Catholic, the Name and the Thing, American Journal of Theology*, VII.

[2] *V.* Briggs, *Church Unity*, chap. III.

There have been, and are, heresies and schisms, and many different separated ecclesiastical jurisdictions, many of them claiming that they alone are *the one holy catholic Church*, but that is only so far as jurisdiction and external organization are concerned. These all recognize the baptism of heretics and schismatics as valid, when used with the words of institution, in the name of the Holy Trinity, and with water, the element instituted by Christ. They all recognize that the members of these separated, schismatic, and heretical churches are indeed members of *the one holy catholic Church*, and are ready to receive them to full communion when they repent of their sins of heresy and schism.

These may err in regarding their jurisdiction as the only valid jurisdiction, and in holding that there may be many valid jurisdictions without organic unity; but none of them err in their faith that there is now, as there has always been, from the foundation of Christianity, *one* and *only one holy catholic Church*, which embraces all baptized Christians throughout the world, united to the one Church by baptism and to the one Christ by a living faith.

(4) *Apostolic.* This term is also implied in the term *Church;* because what else can the Church be than the Church which was organized by the Apostles of Jesus Christ, and which has existed in unbroken continuity of apostolic succession since the Apostles' times?

This is the term which came into the Constantinopolitan Creed as a restrictive term. This is the

term which excluded from the Church everything that departed from the apostolic foundations of the Church.

Apostolic Christianity, as the genuine, real Christianity, had to be distinguished from the false Christianity of heretics and schismatics. *Apostolic* was primarily used with reference to *doctrine*, only secondarily as to *institution*. Thus Irenæus says: "When we refer (the heretics) to that tradition which originates from the Apostles, which is preserved by means of the succession of presbyters in the churches, they object to tradition, saying that 'they themselves are wiser, not merely than the presbyters, but even than the Apostles, because they have discovered the unadulterated truth'" (*Adv. Hær.*, III, 2[2]).

The name *catholic* stood for three essential things: (1) the vital unity of the Church in Christ; (2) the geographical unity of the Church extending throughout the world; (3) the historical unity of the Church in apostolic tradition.[1]

The Roman Catholic Church possesses more of these qualities than any other organization. All others have lost in great part the geographical unity. But Protestants, just as truly as the Roman Catholics, have the vital unity and the apostolicity; and indeed, in some respects, lay more stress upon these than do the Roman Catholics. Protestants, indeed, emphasize the authority of the apostolic writings more than do the Roman Catholics, who add to them

[1] Briggs, *Church Unity*, pp. 59 *seq.*

an interpreting unwritten apostolic tradition with an official interpreting of the whole by an infallible Church. The Church of England, and in less measure the Lutherans, recognize a secondary authority in the Creeds. Only the Puritans limit authority to Holy Scripture.

So far as historical continuity of institution is concerned, the Protestant bodies recognize it as well as the Roman Catholic: the only difference between them is as to the organs of transmission. The Roman Catholics, while they recognize the episcopate and other orders of the ministry, so emphasize the succession of the popes from St. Peter that all succession seems to be merged in this. The Anglicans in the same way exaggerate the apostolic succession through the episcopate. The Presbyterians and Lutherans emphasize the succession through the presbyterate. The Congregationalists find the true succession in the Christian people. Really it is in all of these organs in due proportion and harmonious co-operation. All of these bodies are correct in a measure, but no one of them grasps the whole truth of the institution of Christ and His Apostles.

(5) *Communion of saints.* There are several interpretations of this clause. The word κοινωνία is a New Testament term, meaning: (*a*) *share in;* used with the genitive of the object, the thing in which one shares (Phil. 2^{1}, 3^{10}; I Cor. 10^{16}); (*b*) *intercourse, fellowship, intimacy* (Acts 2^{42}; I John $1^{3, 6, 7}$).

The usage of the New Testament favors the idea

that the communion is *a share in, a participation in,* that which is defined by the *ἁγίων*. The *ἁγίων* may be the genitive plural of *ἅγιος*, or of *ἅγιον*: thus either masculine or neuter; so the Latin *sanctorum*. Hence we may think either of *sacred things*, or *sacred persons*, or of both. (1) Some of the ancients and some moderns think of *sacred things*, on the basis of its use in that sense in the Council of Nîmes (394); that is, of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper especially. This is favored by I Cor. 10^{16}, *communion*, or *share* in the body and blood of Christ. But this, while grammatically and theologically correct, is opposed by two considerations: that it has little support in theological usage, early or late; and that then the order of the phrase should be after *forgiveness of sins*, which is usually connected with baptism, and not before it.

It is true that some mediæval Creeds have that order; but these are few, and it is uncertain whether the order was designed or accidental. Furthermore, participation in the Holy Communion is involved in the more comprehensive sense of *communion in the saints*.

(2) Some writers, such as Faustus, interpreted the *saints* in the restricted sense of the *departed saints*, who were to be venerated by the faithful. So Harnack[1] thinks the phrase was inserted in the Creed in opposition to Vigilantius, who opposed *the worship of saints*. But, as Kattenbusch[2] says, Vigilantius

[1] *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss*, p. 32.
[2] II, p. 943.

held to the communion *in* the saints, and only opposed the worship of their relics.

(3) Swete[1] follows older writers in the opinion that the introduction of the phrase into the Creed was due to the controversy with the Donatists, and especially to Augustine. The Donatists would have a Church composed of those only who were *real saints*.

Augustine represents the Catholic position, that the Church is a body in which the good and the evil, the tares and the wheat, are mixed until the judgment day; but that there is, notwithstanding, a real communion of the real saints, from which the wicked are excluded, virtually distinguishing between the visible and invisible Church.

But, as Zahn[2] says, Augustine's usage does not determine the meaning of the phrase; for it did not come into the Creed in North Africa, or under the influence of Augustine; but under other influences. Besides, it might be said that the old view of ἅγιοι recognizes all who are baptized as ἅγιοι, and in the communion of the Church.

(4) The earliest Creed that contains the phrase is that of Niceta of the early fifth century. From him it passed over into Gallican Creeds, and eventually into the Roman Creed. Niceta himself interprets it:

"What is the Church, but the congregation of all saints? Patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, all the just who have been, are, or shall be, are one Church, because, sanctified by one faith and life,

[1] *Apostles' Creed*, p. 83. [2] *Das apostolische Symbolum*, p. 91.

marked by one Spirit, they constitute one body. Believe, then, that in this one Church you will attain the communion of saints" (Caspari, *Anecdota*, I, p. 355 *seq.*).

This interpretation is the one which has come down as an overwhelming tradition, compared with which the other interpretations have little weight. This interpretation is also favored by the addition of this phrase to the article *holy catholic Church;* it is an additional predicate of the Church as *a Church in which there is a communion of saints.*

Prof. McGiffert is quite right in saying that the two modern meanings attached to the term are incorrect. It is not so much a "communion or fellowship of believers with each other"; that would be expressed by the use of the preposition μετὰ, as in the New Testament. It is rather *a participation* or *share in the saints*, which those have who belong to the Church.

It is not, as Luther gives it, "congregation of saints," "*Gemeinde der Heiligen*"; but the Church is a congregation, in which this *participation* or *share in the saints* exists.

ἅγιοι is used, in the New Testament sense, of all Christians consecrated by the water of baptism and hallowed by the regenerative work of the divine Spirit. The Church itself is ἁγία; all things that belong to the Church are ἅγια; all Christians are ἅγιοι. This embraces the Old Testament believers and the New, the living and the dead, as Niceta says. Every Christian has a share in every other

Christian. This results from the *unity* of the Church and its catholicity. It comprehends all, and all are united in *one*, each one having a share in every other and in the whole. This is the conception of St. Paul.

> "For the body is not one member, but many. . . . God tempered the body together . . . that there should be no schism in the body; but the members should have the same care one for another. And where one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or a member is honored, all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ, and severally members thereof" (I Cor. 12^{14} *seq.*). Compare also Heb. $12^{22\text{-}24}$:
>
> "But ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of a new covenant."

This clause is an enlargement of the idea of the *unity* of the Holy Catholic Church, rather than of the diversity of the privileges contained in it. It may therefore be said to take the place of the *one* of the Constantinopolitan Creed.

CHAPTER XIII

REMISSION OF SINS

The eleventh article of the Creed teaches the doctrine of remission of sins in connection with baptism, which unites the individual with the Church and gives him a share in all its benefits.

This article of the Creed is simply *forgiveness of sins*. It has remained unchanged from the beginning.

> Dr. McGiffert urges that this phrase was not in the Old Roman Creed. But he does so on the basis of his theory that the *remission of sins* here refers to that remission imparted by the Church to members of the Church, about which there was considerable difference of opinion and controversy in the second, third, and fourth centuries. But in fact, he is mistaken. The *remission of sins* of the Creed is the remission of sins connected with baptism and the entrance into the Christian Church; as is evident from the specification of the remission of sins given in several Creeds and contemporary writers.
>
> It is true that this phrase is absent from the forms of Irenæus and Tertullian; but, as we have seen, they do not propose to give us complete Creeds; their formulas are essentially Christological, and even the *Holy Spirit* and the *resurrection* are connected with the work of Christ, and not given as separate articles, as in the Creed. But the *remission of sins* appears in Cyprian, A. D. 250, and in the Eastern Creeds. The longer Creed of Jerusalem has: *in one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins*. And so the Constantinopolitan has: *we confess one baptism for the remission of sins*.

This connection of the forgiveness of sins with *repentance* and *baptism* is based on the New Testa-

ment, especially the Gospels and the preaching of the Apostles in the Book of Acts. The phrase first appears in the New Testament in connection with the baptism of John: "John came, who baptized in the wilderness and preached the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins" (Mark 1^{4}; Luke 3^{3}; *cf.* 1^{77}).

Jesus, at the institution of the Lord's Supper, said: "This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins" (Mt. 26^{28}).

Jesus tells the Apostles before His ascension that: "Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name unto all the nations" (Luke 24^{46-47}).

So in the preaching of the Apostles. At Pentecost Peter said: "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2^{38}). Again, before the Sanhedrim, he declared of Jesus: "Him did God exalt at His right hand (to be) a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and remission of sins" (Acts 5^{31}). To the Gentiles in Cæsarea he said: "To Him bear all the prophets witness that through His name every one that believeth on Him shall receive remission of sins" (Acts 10^{43}).

It is true that the term *remission of sins* is infrequent in Paul, being only used twice in his later epistles. But it is used twice: "In whom we have

our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins" (Col. 1^{14}). "In whom we have our redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses, according to the riches of His grace" (Eph. 1^{7}). And therefore there is no reason to doubt that it was essential in his theology.

Usually, in the Epistles of Paul, the more positive side of salvation through Christ is dwelt upon, namely, *justification.* The two are, however, combined in the preaching of St. Paul, according to Acts 13^{38-39}:

"Be it known unto you therefore, brethren, that through this man is proclaimed unto you remission of sins: and by Him every one that believeth is justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses."

The *forgiveness of sins* of the Creed is, therefore, based on the New Testament doctrine, and connected with the ceremony of baptism. It is that forgiveness which is conditioned upon *repentance* and *baptism.* It is therefore appropriate as a subordinate article to that of the *Holy Spirit:* for the baptism is of the water and the Spirit; the Holy Spirit with regenerative power is given in connection with baptism.

(1) *Remission of sins.* This is a doctrine of the Old Testament, which is taken up into the New Testament. The Old Testament term is נשא, with the synonymous סלח, העביר: literally, *to take away, remove.* The New Testament equivalent is *ἀφίημι, to send away, remit.* The fundamental conception is the removal of the sins away from the divine

presence, so that they can no longer be an obstruction to union and communion with God. In English we say *forgive* = German *vergeben*, *give away;* and *pardon* = French *pardonner*, the same.

This is the earliest, simplest, and most pervading conception of getting rid of sins; and therefore with propriety it appears in the simple baptismal Creed. In the Old Testament and in the New it is ever God who remits sins.

In connection with the sacrificial system other conceptions for getting rid of sin arose; the chief of these was כִּפֶּר, *cover over*. Sin was conceived as defiling the sacred places, especially the *altar*, the place of union and communion with God. It had to be *covered over*, *obliterated*, *expiated;* so that the place of communion might be pure and clean. That was accomplished in the Old Testament ritual by the application of the blood of a sacrificial victim to the altar. Sometimes both in the Old Testament and in the New Testament the remission of sins is connected with the redemptive force of the blood, *cf.* Eph. 1^{7}: "In whom we have our redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses, according to the riches of His grace."

Another conception arose later in the Old Testament from the point of view of sin as the failure to fulfil a duty, an obligation to the divine law, and thus as a *debt;* and so sin is gotten rid of by *not imputing* or *charging* it, by *not remembering* it, by *overlooking* it. This is the view which is especially prominent in the teaching of St. Paul, and is con-

nected with *remission* in the passage already referred to in Acts 13^{38-39}. The simple and more common and original term, *forgiveness of sins*, does not exclude the other conceptions; but suggests them to all who have sufficiently studied their Bibles; and was so designed by the authors of the Creed: so that under this article we may not only think of *forgiveness of sins*, but also of *atonement for sin*, and of *justification from sin*.

The early Church thought most of *forgiveness*, the mediæval Church of *atonement;* the modern church thinks most of *justification*.

(2) *Repentance* was involved with the *remission of sins* as its indispensable condition, as is clear from the teaching of the Gospels and the preaching of the Apostles. Μετάνοια is *a change of mind*. It corresponds with the Hebrew, שׁוּב *turn about, return*. It involves a change from one direction to another, from sin unto God. It has its positive and negative sides: the turning away from sin is the negative side, the turning unto God the positive side. The ceremony of baptism represents this change. It is a washing with water, a bath of regeneration, a death to the old life of sin, a rebirth, or resurrection, into the new life of the Spirit.

(3) *The divine Spirit* is the agent of this regeneration, who alone makes this repentance effective.

The repenting sinner by the divine Spirit is born, or raised from the death of sin into a new life which he lives under the guidance of the divine Spirit, who dwells within him, leads him into all the truth, and

gradually transforms his actions, his habits, his entire character and nature.

The forgiveness of sins, which comes through repentance and baptism, from the very nature of the case is conceived as a permanent change. It unites the believer to Christ, and makes him share in Christ and in Christ's body the Church. The Holy Spirit, who regenerates him, abides in him and with him to carry on the work of salvation to its completion. He is ideally at regeneration what Christ guarantees he will be, and what the Holy Spirit undertakes to make him at the end of the entire process of salvation. Forgiveness continues to spread its mantle over him. His justification was made once for all when Christ was justified at His resurrection; and it continues to embrace him in all its benefits, until his sanctification is completed. Theoretically his salvation is complete, when it has in reality only begun.

The difficulty arises in Christian experience, which, soon after entrance of the new life, involves consciousness of indwelling sin, and of a moral weakness or inability to perfectly conform to the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. The new-born Christian, after baptism, commits sins; usually what are known as venial sins, sins of ignorance, or inadvertence, of carelessness, or of minor importance. But sometimes even mortal sins are committed, even in some cases wilful sins, and of a gross character. The question therefore arose at once: how about these sins? is there to be *a forgiveness of sins after baptism?* or does one who sins a mortal sin after baptism merit eter-

nal death by committing the sin unto death? Numberless questions arose here, which greatly troubled the early Church, and have greatly troubled the Church ever since: questions as to grades of sin; questions as to public and private confession; questions as to absolution and disciplinary penalties, and how far they may be commuted by fines; questions as to how often forgiveness should be granted and how far it should extend. These questions are not determined by the Creed. It is simply taken for granted that the repentance, baptism, and remission are once for all and final.

We have to bear in mind that the Lord's Prayer was in universal use among primitive Christians, earlier indeed than the Creed, and doubtless more universal than any particular form of Creed. The Lord's Prayer contains the petition: "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us" (Mt. 6^{12}; Luke 11^{4}). This is enforced in Matthew by the qualification: "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses" (vv. $^{14, 15}$). Luke (11^{4}) has: "Forgive us our sins; for we ourselves also forgive every one that is indebted to us."

This, with other passages of the Gospels, makes it plain that the early Christians, on the basis of the New Testament, thought of a continuous forgiveness of sins on the part of the heavenly Father, for which they must offer oft-repeated prayer.

There was no doubt that this included all venial sins; but did it include mortal sins? It certainly did not include the sin against the Holy Spirit, for which there is, according to Jesus, no forgiveness either in this age or in the age to come (Mark 3^{28-29}; Mt. 12^{31-32}; Luke 12^{10}). Nor could it include the "sin unto death" of I John 5^{16-17}; for whose forgiveness Christians are not to pray. The same is doubtless true of the passage (Heb. 10^{29}): "who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace." There is evidently a *sin of apostasy which is final*, irremediable, and which cannot be forgiven. There is no controversy over this.

But there was, in the early Church, controversy as to *mortal* sins, both as to what they were, and also as to whether or not they could be forgiven to Christians, and how many times they might be forgiven. The early Church soon settled upon a penitential system, which prescribes confession and, under certain rules, gives absolution to all sins except the unforgivable group.

Protestants, who reject the penitential system of the Roman Catholic Church, yet recognize all sins as forgivable by the grace of God except *the sin unto death*.

All these questions were beyond the scope of the Creed, which was a baptismal Creed for those who, by baptism, entered into union with the Church. It is altogether wrong to think of ecclesiastical forgive-

ness for mortal sins in this connection, as Harnack does; or to suppose that the controversy on this subject was the occasion of the coming of this article into the Creed. If his view were correct, the article would have been different in form and character. It would have had a distinct reference to confession and absolution rather than to *remission* of sins.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY

The last article of the Creed teaches the resurrection of the body of the Christian at the second advent of the Lord, by the power of the Holy Spirit: and implies an eternal life in the body as well as in the spirit with Christ and His Church. Subsequently this was made explicit by the addition of the phrase: *life eternal.*

The received form of the Creed is: *resurrection of the flesh, life eternal.*

The Creed of the fourth century had only: *resurrection of the flesh.*

It is not disputed that the early Roman Creed had this article in this form. The phrase is not a New Testament phrase. We have rather: *resurrection of the dead* (Mt. 22^{31}; Acts 17^{32}, 23^{6}, 24^{21}, 26^{23}; I Cor. $15^{12, 13, 21, 42}$; Heb. 6^{2}; *cf.* Acts 24^{15}). So the Constantinopolitan has the word *dead* without the article.

But it is quite evident that *σαρκός = carnis* had come into usage in the Creed, for that phrase is familiar to Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, and others. Thus Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.*, I, 10^{1}): "to raise up all flesh of all mankind"; Tertullian (*De Virg., vel.* 1): *per carnis etiam resurrectionem;* (*De Præs. Hær.*, 13): *cum carnis restitutione.* Cyril in his long form, has: *εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.*

The motive for a change is not difficult to find; for *resurrection of the dead* might mean a *resurrection of the disembodied spirit;* and it was necessary, in order to rule out that doctrine, to add *flesh*, to show that it was the whole man, body and soul, that took part in the resurrection.

> Harnack, followed by McGiffert, claims that the change was due to grosser views of the resurrection, which became current in the early Church in opposition to the more spiritual views of St. Paul; and that "the Greek σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, and the Latin *carnis resurrectionem* are distinctly, though not, of course, intentionally, anti-Pauline" (McGiffert, p. 169). This view of Harnack is utterly without justification; it is due to a neglect of the study of the use of σάρξ in the New Testament, and of its basis בשר in the Old Testament.

There can be no doubt as to what was the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection in the time of Jesus and His Apostles; and there is no evidence of any different opinion among the writers of the New Testament.

The doctrine of the Pharisees was well defined over against the Sadducees. Jesus and His Apostles in this matter agreed with the Pharisees, as is evident from many passages of the New Testament.

It is altogether probable that *σάρξ* came into the Creed from Psalm 16[9]; where בשׂר is used for the *body* in antithesis with לב, making up the entire man, *body and soul*, and which is so quoted by St. Peter and applied to Jesus (Acts 2[26-27, 31]). בשׂר has sometimes the specific meaning of *flesh of the body;* but in this passage, where it is used in connection with the

resurrection, it is the *body* of man, and is not the *flesh* of the body. The same is true of בשר in Job 19^{26}, which is often used by the early writers in connection with the resurrection; and this is a common usage of the Old Testament in other relations also, as I have shown elsewhere.[1] So also in the New Testament, in many passages and in many relations, σάρξ is used of the *body* more frequently than of the *flesh* of the body. There can be no reasonable doubt that the term σάρξ in the Creed had this general sense of *body* of man, and not the specific grosser sense that Harnack would foist upon it

St. Paul, in I Cor. 15, uses σῶμα, *body*, in connection with the resurrection, and accordingly gives σάρξ the more specific sense of the *fleshly substance* of the body. He affirms that the body of Christians at the resurrection will not have the flesh and blood characteristic of the earthly body, corruptible and mortal; but that their bodies will be heavenly bodies, and so incorruptible, immortal, and glorious, like the body of Christ, composed of a heavenly substance into which it has been transubstantiated.

It is quite true that Tertullian, and other early and mediæval authors, were quite gross in their conceptions of the body of the resurrection. Their gross views were tolerable but not valid interpretations of the Creed, which followed the Biblical teaching, and is to be interpreted by St. Paul, and not in conflict with him; because St. Paul goes deeper into the question of the resurrection than any other New

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Commentary on Psalms*, I, p. 126.

Testament writer. Gross views of the resurrection of the body are tolerable, because they include the less gross view; but the antithetic opinion, which discards the resurrection of the body altogether, is intolerable, because it was to avoid just such an opinion that the Creed has *resurrection of the flesh* instead of *resurrection of the dead.*

Opinions as to the nature of the resurrection body have varied in the Church, as they vary now; and these variations are permissible so long as the reality of the resurrection of the body is held.

Following the teaching of St. Paul in I Cor. 15, which has always been normal on this question, the resurrection body is the same body as that which is entombed, or buried; that is, in form, structure, appearance, identity: but its substance is different, in that it is no longer earthly, corruptible, mortal flesh, but heavenly, incorruptible, immortal. And this is most reasonable.

The body that inhabits this earth must be composed of flesh and blood, derived from the substance of this earth. If Jupiter or Mars is inhabited, the bodies of their inhabitants must be composed of the substance of these planets and constructed in accordance with the forces and motions of these planets. Wherever the spirit of man goes to abide, it will take to itself the substance of the place where it is to abide.

The view that best commends itself to me, is, that there is a spiritual body, which underlies and gives shape and organization to the physical body. This

body is inseparable from the soul, goes forth with the soul at death, and in the intermediate state assumes the substance of the intermediate place of souls. When the final change comes, for the ultimate state of existence at the resurrection, the same body takes to itself the substance of the final place of its abode: the body, the same in form and structure, but different in its substance.

Eternal life was added to the Creed, as other phrases of other articles, probably through the influence of Niceta's Creed, which has it.

The *eternal life* is the eternal life that follows the resurrection of the body and the final judgment; and not the eternal life which begins, according to the Gospel of John, with the new birth in this world, or that which begins immediately after death.

This article of the Creed has to do only with Christians, not with unbelievers; for it is subordinate to the article of the Holy Spirit, and the last in the order of clauses as to the work of the Spirit: *church —remission of sins—resurrection.* This is not to deny the universal resurrection, which, indeed, is implied in the article of the judgment of Christ, but simply leaving it out of view here, where the work of the Spirit is under consideration and the blessedness of the righteous kept in view.

The Apostles' Creed is based on the New Testament, and especially upon the teaching of Jesus and His Apostles as recorded in the Gospels and the Book of Acts; and to a great extent is *Lukan*, as would

naturally be the case in a primitive Roman Creed. There can be no doubt that the interpretation of the several articles of the Creed has varied from time to time in details, and logical deductions, and through changes in the meaning of the technical terms, and variety in the meaning of the original words; but these changes have never affected the substance and the essential meaning of the Creed, as based on the New Testament. The ancient interpretation of some of the clauses was made more gross than the modern spirit can justify; but a gross interpretation does not impair the essential meaning of a Creed: it is an exaggeration of it, which retains all the original historical meaning *and more*. That does not justify a minimizing of the meaning by going to the other extreme; for such a minimizing of the Creed destroys its essential Biblical and historical meaning. To all intents and purposes, we may justly say, that the historical meaning of the Creed has always been maintained, is the same to-day, and will doubtless always abide.

PART II

THE NICENE CREED

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The Nicene Creed is an œcumenical Creed; because it was adopted in its original form by the Council of Nicæa, composed of three hundred and eighteen bishops, in the year 325, and so called, by the Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451), *the Symbol of the three hundred and eighteen.* The Constantinopolitan form was in some sense approved by a council of 150 bishops held at Constantinople in 381, and was finally adopted at Chalcedon as: *the Symbol of the one hundred and fifty.*

The Western form has only the authority of the Western Church for its additions, which have never been approved by the Eastern Churches.

The Apostles' Creed was from the beginning, and always has been, *a baptismal Creed;* based on the Baptismal Formula and setting forth the saving acts of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, authoritative as the summary of the traditional apostolic Faith.

The Nicene Creed is, on the other hand, *a conciliar Creed*, an official Creed stating the same great doctrinal facts in a fuller and more dogmatic way, in

order to exclude Trinitarian and Christological heresies. Although in the East it incorporated the earlier baptismal Creed, and so became itself a baptismal Creed, it is more properly a Creed for the matured Christian, and has been used in the West as well as in the East as the appropriate Creed for the Eucharist. The Apostles' Creed was a Creed the acceptance of which was necessary for baptism and incorporation into the Christian Church. The Nicene Creed was a test of orthodoxy, and necessary for full communion in the Church.

We have seen, in our study of the Apostles' Creed, that certain changes or additions to the Apostles' Creed were due to early heresies, which had to be rejected; such as the Gnostic and Docetic syncretisms, and the various forms of Monarchianism. The Monarchian theories insisted upon the unity of God; that the one God must be the sovereign, and that therefore Christ and the divine Spirit must be subordinate to the Father: and so we have either the *modal Trinity*, whose chief representative was Sabellius, condemned c. 220 by Pope Callistus; or the *dynamic*, whose chief representative was Paul of Samosata, metropolitan of Antioch, condemned by three provincial councils at Antioch, and at the third, c. 269, deposed. Gieseler[1] thus defines the essential difference: "The one looked upon the divine in Christ as continually teaching and acting through Him; the other looked upon it as acting only on the human person; so that, according to the former, the

[1] *Ecclesiastical History*, I, p. 198.

entire agency of Christ was divine, derived from God; according to the latter, a human agency directed by God."

The Modalists preserved the divinity of Christ at the expense of His humanity; the Dynamists preserved His humanity at the expense of His divinity. The Church insisted upon both the divinity and the humanity of Christ. The Monarchians of all types had been expelled from the Church in both the East and the West, but the Church had thus far been unable to solve the difficulties that confronted both the Jewish and the Greek thinkers in reconciling the divinity with the humanity of Christ, and a Trinity of Father, Son, and Spirit with the Unity of God.

Arius started from the fundamental principle of the Unity of God, to which Christianity was committed by the New Testament and the Creed, as truly as the Jews by the Old Testament, and Greek philosophers by their philosophy. Arius rejected Sabellianism with its modal Trinity. He also rejected Paul of Samosata with his conception of the deified man. He recognized the divinity of Christ; but only in a secondary sense, as a subordinate, ministerial god, prior to all creatures and supreme in rank to all, but still a creature; god, but not the only one supreme God.

It was quite possible to hold this opinion on the basis of the חכמה of Proverbs, the *σοφία* of the Book of Wisdom, and the λόγος of Philo; and a number of plausible texts might be cited in its favor. If one distinguishes between God as transcendent and God

It is not altogether certain that the formula in all respects corresponds with what he was taught at his baptism. Some think that the formula was prepared for the occasion on the basis of the Creed of the church of Cæsarea; but this seems improbable. There is no valid reason to doubt that he presented the Creed of his church, and that that Creed was in fact a development, like the Roman Creed, of an earlier baptismal Creed, as he says.

The Creed of the church of Cæsarea, which, as thus presented, goes back into the third century, was taken as the basis for the formula of Nicæa; to it, however, were added several important phrases, which were aimed especially against the Arians. These were not altogether approved by Eusebius and the intermediate party, who wished to conserve the Faith of the Church and not add to it; and who were especially in dread of Sabellianism: but they were obliged to accept the definitions of the majority and to explain them in their own way.

We shall compare these Creeds when we come to study the clauses of the Nicene Creed in detail.

The Council of Constantinople, convoked by the Emperor Theodosius in May, 381, was composed of one hundred and fifty bishops, all Eastern. Their first canon readopted the Nicene Creed, and condemned seven different heresies, on the right and on the left, which existed at the time.

> "The Bishops out of different provinces, assembled by the grace of God in Constantinople, on the summons of the most religious Emperor Theodosius, have decreed as follows: The Faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers as-

> sembled at Nicæa in Bithynia shall not be set aside, but shall remain firm. And every heresy shall be anathematized, particularly that of the Eunomians, or Eudoxians, and that of the Semi-Arians, or Pneumatomachi, and that of the Sabellians, and that of the Marcellians, and that of the Photinians, and that of the Apollinarians."

(1) The Eunomians, or Anomœans, held to the *anomoion* of Christ; that is, that He was "not like the Father in essence," but simply a creature. These may be regarded as extreme Arians.

(2) Arians proper, or Eudoxians, asserted that the Son was "like the Father," with the implication that it was only a moral likeness.

(3) The Semi-Arians, or Macedonians, also called Pneumatomachians, denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

(4) The Sabellians have already been sufficiently described (*v.* p. 48).

(5) The Marcellians regarded the kingdom of Christ as only temporary and not eternal, and the Incarnation of Christ as only provisional.

(6) The Photinians asserted, like Paul of Samosata, that Christ was a man possessed of the Logos in exceptional fulness.

These six heresies were chiefly new forms of Modalism on the one hand or Arianism on the other, already condemned by the Church implicitly, now needing explicit rejection.

(7) The Apollinarians raised new questions relating to the Incarnation.

The question of the relation of the divine and the human in Christ now became serious. Apollinaris of Laodicæa was a strict adherent of the Nicene

theology, a friend of Athanasius and a scholar of the first rank, all of which entitled his views to great authority in the Church. He represented that Christ's human nature was impersonal, and therefore could not have had a reasonable soul, *νοῦς*, but only the *σάρξ*, the body, and *ψυχή*, the animal soul. Apollinaris was doubtless led to this position by the desire, not only to maintain the unity of Christ's person, but also to avoid the mutability and sinful tendencies that were involved in the human soul.

He said: "Where there is perfect manhood, there is sin." "Our rational soul is under condemnation." "If Christ assumed the totality of human attributes, He undoubtedly had reasoning powers; and it is impossible for these to be free from inherent sin." This same difficulty has been felt in modern times by those who, like Edward Irving, have urged that Christ assumed the nature of fallen man and so with original sin. Apollinaris also urged an essential likeness between the divine and the human natures. He maintained, on the basis of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, that the Logos is the archetype of mankind, and pre-existed as the heavenly man prior to the incarnation. These views, which have a pantheistic tendency, have been revived in recent times, and are favorites among some German theologians and also among some recent American writers, who think they are giving a new theology when they are reviving ancient heresies.

It is undoubtedly true that the Pauline conception of the man from heaven and the pre-existent archetypal relation of the Son of God to man, has not been sufficiently considered by theologians; but, on the other hand, these passages do not bear the meaning that Apollinaris and his modern followers would put upon them: that human nature is in a sense coeternal, consubstantial with the Logos; which is pantheistic and not theistic. It was necessary, therefore, for the Church to reject Apollinarianism as a serious departure from the Biblical doctrine of the Incarnation. It was, however, thought best by the Council not to make additional dogmatic statements, but simply to reaffirm the Nicene Creed and reject the seven heresies as inconsistent with it.

The Constantinopolitan form of the Nicene Creed is in the present text of the Acts of that Council; but it is not known how it came there. The Council of Chalcedon definitely asserts that the Constantinopolitan Creed was the Symbol of the one hundred and fifty. It is altogether probable, therefore, that in some sense it was derived from that Council. It is almost certain that the Council approved of it, and so it came to have the sanction of their authority.

The situation at Nicæa seems to have been repeated at Constantinople. Cyril of Jerusalem belonged to the conservative, or intermediate, party. He had gradually become reconciled to the Nicene terminology, and had "undergone many contests with the Arians."

He, with Nectarius of Constantinople and Flavi-

anus of Antioch, was challenged before the Council. Cyril had revised the Creed of Jerusalem (c. 362–4) by taking up into it the most essential terms of the Nicene Creed.

This Creed Cyril seems to have presented to the Council as his justification; and it was approved by the Council, and Cyril himself was recognized as an orthodox man and highly honored.[1] This revised Creed of Jerusalem was already known to Epiphanius prior to 374.[2]

He had brought it with him from Jerusalem, having lived in that vicinity until 367, when he became bishop in Cyprus.

There are several things to be noticed: (1) The Nicene Creed in its original form is the substance of the Constantinopolitan, with the exception of two phrases that were not essential and seemed tautological, and to which the conservatives had objected for various reasons. (2) The chief additions to the Creed are from the primitive baptismal Creeds of the churches, giving in detail the six saving acts of Christ and the work of the divine Spirit, so as to make the statement of the Faith of the Church complete. No one could have regarded these additions as in any way making it improper to consider the whole as the Nicene Creed. (3) There are also several additions which, as we shall see in our exposition of the several clauses of the Creed, were designed to exclude several of the more recent heresies, ex-

[1] Hort, *Two Dissertations*, pp. 94 *seq.*
[2] He gives it in his ὁ Ἀγκυρωτός, *The Anchored One.*

pressly condemned in the first Canon of the Council. For these reasons it is altogether probable that the Council approved this form as essentially the Nicene Creed.

On the other hand, there is no clear reference to the Apollinarian heresy in the Constantinopolitan; and it seems improbable that the Council would have made additions to the Creed without statements excluding it, such as we find in the Athanasian Creed. It may be, however, that the Council did not consider the Apollinarian heresy, which opened up the great Christological problem, as so serious at this time as it became later in the Church.

However the mystery may be explained, it is evident that the Constantinopolitan Creed, so called, is based on the revised Creed of Jerusalem as given by Epiphanius; and that that Creed is a combination of the Nicene Creed and an older baptismal Creed, resembling the Old Roman Creed.

This Creed was recognized by the Council of Chalcedon as the Symbol of the one hundred and fifty of Constantinople, and was given by the Council of Chalcedon œcumenical authority; and so, being an expansion of the Nicene Creed and containing many more primitive statements not in the Nicene Creed, it has taken its place as the œcumenical form of the Nicene Creed.

The received form of the Western Church differs from the Constantinopolitan chiefly in the clause, "*and the Son*," added to the doctrine of the Procession of the Spirit from the Father; and in the res-

toration of the clause, "*God of God.*" Both of these appear in the Creed for the first time as recited by the Council of Toledo in 589; though both are found in earlier documents. The latter came in from the original Nicene Creed, the former probably from the so-called Athanasian Creed.

The original Nicene Creed and the later form of the Constantinopolitan are given below, the differences of the latter being indicated by italics. Later additions are in small capitals; omissions from the original Creed are in parentheses.

THE NICENE CREED

We believe

I. 1. In one God, the Father Almighty, maker *of heaven and earth and* of all things visible and invisible;

II. 2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father *before all worlds*, the only begotten (that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God) Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made (both in heaven and on earth).

3. Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down *from heaven* and was incarnate *by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary*, and was made man,

4. He was *crucified for us under Pontius Pilate and* suffered *and* was *buried*

5. And the third day (risen) He rose again *according to the Scriptures*

6. And ascended into heaven,

7. *And sitteth on the right hand of the Father*,

8. From thence He shall come (and coming again) *with glory*, to judge the quick and the dead; *whose kingdom shall have no end;*

III. 9. And in the Holy Ghost, *the Lord, the Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father* AND THE SON, *who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets;*

10. AND *in one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.*

11. *We acknowledge*
one baptism for the remission of sins.

12. We *look for*
the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come.

CHAPTER II

MAKER OF ALL THINGS, VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE

The Nicene Creed is like the Apostles' Creed in its Trinitarian basis, the first part giving the doctrine of God the Father, the second of the Son, the third of the divine Spirit.

I. The original Nicene form was: *We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible.* This was derived from the Creed of Cæsarea with slight changes. The Constantinopolitan inserts in the second clause after *Maker, of heaven and earth.* This is in accordance with the Creed of Jerusalem. The final Western form is the same: *Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.*

The first part of this article has already been sufficiently considered in connection with the Apostles' Creed. The second part, giving the doctrine of creation, has also been considered with the phrase introduced into the Apostles' Creed: *Maker of heaven and earth.* But the earlier Nicene form, *of all things visible and invisible*, has still to be considered.

This is Eastern in character. The emphasis is on invisible things, such as angels, and the invisible world where the angels dwell, good and bad, and whither the dead depart; as well as on the visible things of heaven and earth. It is based on Col. 1^{16}:

"For in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, *things visible and things invisible*, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through Him, and unto Him."

CHAPTER III

CONSUBSTANTIAL WITH THE FATHER

Article II is the one that is expanded, because about this the Arian controversy raged.

The doctrine of the person of Christ is unfolded so as to exclude Arianism. The Son is declared to be the only begotten of the Father, begotten before all the ages, consubstantial with the Father, veritable God, the mediator of creation.

1. *And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God.*

All of these terms have been considered in connection with the Apostles' Creed. The only change from the Creed of Eusebius was in the substitution of *Son of God* for *Word of God*, made necessary by the additions to that Creed which follow. The doctrine of the Logos, or Word, about which Christological controversy had raged in the East, was used by the Arians in their support, and so it was necessary to use the less philosophical and more definite term *Son*. The term *Lord* was first in the Creed of Cæsarea, instead of last as in the Roman Creed, and more appropriately so with the retention of the *one*, which, though original in the Roman Creed, had disappeared from it by this time. The *one Lord* is doubtless based on I Cor. 8^6, and in this article as there in the sense of divinity (*v.* p. 51 *seq.*).

(2) *Begotten of the Father, only begotten.*

The Creed of Eusebius had *only begotten Son* and *begotten of God the Father*. The order of these terms was changed and the terms consolidated, *Son* and *God* being omitted to avoid tautology. The Constantinopolitan transposes the clauses, *the only begotten*, *begotten of the Father*, after the Creed of Jerusalem. This order remained unchanged in the Western form of the Creed.

The term *only begotten* we have already considered in connection with the Apostles' Creed (*v.* p. 49 *seq.*). The phrase *begotten of the Father* was derived from the Creed of Cæsarea. *Begotten* is emphasized by *of the Father*, as being a real birth out of the Father, as truly from His substance as a man is begotten from the substance of his father, and so over against any merely figurative senses of sonship, such as the Old Testament recognizes in the creation of the world, of Israel as a nation, and of the Messianic dynasty of Israel; or any kind of Adoptionism, whether of Paul of Samosata or any other.

The Constantinopolitan adds *before all the ages*. This was in the Creed of Eusebius, but was omitted as unimportant because of the definition that follows: *that is*, *of the substance of the Father*. The Creed of Jerusalem omits this latter and reverts to the older phrase; and the Constantinopolitan follows in both the omission and the addition; so also the Western form of the Creed.

The phrase *before all the worlds*, or *ages*, is not strictly a Biblical phrase as applied to Christ, but it is a paraphrase and a more dogmatic form of the

Biblical terms *before the world was* (John 17^{5}), and *before the foundation of the world* (John 17^{24}). The world is here rather the *cosmos*, the whole order of created things. The *æons* are the successive ages of the world, or the *worlds* themselves in these successive ages: as εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας is *unto the ages, forever* (Rom. 1^{25}, 9^{5}), in benedictions; so πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων means *before the ages*, before there were any ages (*cf.* I Cor. 2^{7}, of divine foreordination).

The Biblical usage justifies the conception that the Son of God was not only truly begotten of God, but that He was thus begotten before any creatures, or, as John 1^{1} has it, *in the beginning was the Word.*

(3) *That is, of the substance of the Father.*

This was added to the Creed of Cæsarea to rule out Arianism. It was not in the Creed of Jerusalem as given by Cyril, though it is in that of Epiphanius; but it does not appear in the Constantinopolitan, probably for rhetorical reasons, and because its meaning was better expressed in the ὁμοούσιος below. The significance of this phrase we shall reserve for the present, in order to consider it with other similar phrases about which the controversy especially raged.

(4) *God of God.* This was in the Creed of Cæsarea, but was preceded there by *the Word of God*, which was thrown out because the battle was over the relation of *sonship* and not over the relation of the *Logos*. The Arians misused the term *Logos* as meaning the immanent mediatorial god and pressed it to the extreme of a subordinate god. It was deemed best, therefore, to avoid the use of *Logos* in

the Creed and to emphasize the relation of sonship. In some respects that was a mistake; because the Biblical relation of the Logos to God is a different relation from that of sonship, and adds important material to enrich the relation of Christ to God. It would have been wiser to combine the two terms in a more comprehensive statement rather than to limit the dogma to the relation of sonship. The passages of Scripture dealing with *Wisdom* and *Logos* were brought into the discussion; but they were translated into terms of sonship by the Nicene theologians and so a part of their significance was lost.

This phrase *God of God* was not used in the revised Jerusalem Creed of Epiphanius, and so did not appear in the Constantinopolitan, as indeed it was not needed because its meaning was in fact more fully expressed in the term *Very God of Very God.*

It was natural, in the heat of the controversy, that there should be a certain amount of tautology in the chief terms of the controversy. The phrase *God of God* reappeared, however, in Western forms after the Council of Toledo (589). We reserve the consideration of it for the present.

(5) *Light of Light.* This was derived from the Creed of Cæsarea. It was taken up into the Creed of Jerusalem, of Epiphanius, and so passed into the Constantinopolitan in Eastern and Western forms.

The Creed of Eusebius also had *Life of Life*, which was not used in the Nicene Creed in any of its forms, although it has a better Biblical basis and a more

important meaning. Both terms are terms of John: "In Him was Life; and the Life was the light of men" (John 1^{4}). "The true Light, which lighteth every man coming into the world" (John 1^{9}). "And the Life was manifested, and we have seen, and bear witness, and declare unto you the Life, the eternal, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us" (I John 1^{2}).

It is probable that the phrase *Light of Light* was a paraphrase of Heb. 1^{3}: "Being the effulgence of His glory, and the very image of His substance."

The Book of Wisdom was probably also in mind, which represents Wisdom as "the effulgence of the everlasting Light" ($7^{25\text{-}27}$); *cf.* I John 1^{5}: "God is Light, and in Him is no darkness at all." So Jesus is "*the Light of the World*" (John 8^{12}).

The conception is, that the Son of God as the Light of men came forth from the Father as the original source of light. He had, therefore, the same *light nature:* the glory of God the Father has its effulgence of glory in the Son, who made the Father manifest to the world.

(6) *True God of true God*, *θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ.*

This was not in the Creed of Eusebius. It is a stronger expression than the *God of God* of his Creed. The phrase *θεὸν ἀληθινὸν* was attached to the Son of God in the Creed of Jerusalem, of Cyril. To this the Nicene, *ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ*, was added in the revised Creed of Jerusalem, of Epiphanius; and so appears in the Constantinopolitan in Eastern and West-

ern forms. It is not only a recognition that the Son of God was *god*, which the Arians held; for they recognized him as a secondary, subordinate god. It not only represented the older view that the Son of God as god came forth from God, emanating from Him as Logos and Son. But by using the phrase, *ἀληθινὸν θεὸν*, of John 17^3 (*cf.* I Thes. 1^9), both for the Father and for the Son, it states in fact that as the Father is the one real veritable God, so the Son is likewise the real veritable God, begotten by Him, emanating from Him, and yet not differing from Him in real veritable deity. This phrase of the Creed is emphasized by Athanasius in his *Exposition of the Faith* (1), citing I John 5^{20}; *cf. Orat. c. Arian*, 3^9.

(7) *Begotten, not made, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα.* This is another addition to the Creed of Eusebius, designed to rule out the Arians. It was taken up into the revised Creed of Jerusalem of Epiphanius, and so passed over into the Constantinopolitan and the official Creeds, Eastern and Western. It rejects the idea that the Son was *made* among the other things that God made, and thus distinguishes Him from all creation, and from created beings. On the other hand, it reaffirms His *sonship* as not to be conceived in a figurative sense, of creation; but in the real sense of *being begotten as a son of a father*, to use the phrase of John 1^{18}: *only begotten God* (*v.* p. 49).

The Arians held that the Son was created, *ποιηθέντα*, though supreme as god over all creatures, and prior to all as mediator of the creation. The

Nicene Faith refuses to class Him with creatures, and exalts Him as God over all creatures, the Son of God and yet the true, veritable, only God.

The Creed of Eusebius had *πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως*, *first-born of all creation*, the phrase of Col. 1^{15}, which not only makes the Son of God prior to every creature, but also ascribes to Him *birth* as the first-born, distinguishing Him from them as *formed, shaped, created*. But this phrase might be evaded, as it always has been by Arians; and it was, therefore, deemed insufficient, and the phrase of the Nicene Creed was substituted for it.

(8) *Consubstantial with the Father*, *ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί*. This was not in the Creed of Eusebius. It was a new phrase, made in order to express the most essential thing in the doctrine of Christ over against Arianism. It was the phrase about which the battle centred. This must be reserved for further consideration. It was not in the Creed of Cyril, but was taken up into the revised Creed of Jerusalem, of Epiphanius, and so into the Constantinopolitan in both the Eastern and the Western forms.

(9) *Through whom all things were made, both in heaven and on earth.* This was taken in its first part from the Creed of Eusebius, but enlarged by the addition of the second part from the Creed of Epiphanius. The first part was also in the Creed of Jerusalem, of Cyril, and that was deemed sufficient in the revised form of Epiphanius, and so that only came into the Constantinopolitan in its Eastern and Western forms. The doctrine is that of I Cor. 8^{6},

Col. 1^{16}, John 1^{3}. The Son is the Mediator of the creation.

We have reserved for fuller consideration these two phrases of the Nicene Creed:

τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός, and ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί; the former omitted from the Constantinopolitan and later forms of the Creed, Eastern and Western, the latter retained in all forms of the Nicene Creed. These terms were the battle terms in the entire discussion subsequent to Nicæa. They were inserted in the Creed against the remonstrances of Eusebius of Cæsarea and the great body of the bishops of Syria and Palestine; and only accepted with their own explanations, which did not satisfy the Alexandrians and the Westerns. There seems to be little doubt that Hosius of Cordova, the representative of the emperor at the Council, was chiefly responsible for the insertion of these phrases; and he was a Western, especially influenced by the writings of Irenæus and Tertullian; whereas the Easterns were influenced rather by Origen or Lucian.

These terms, οὐσία, ὁμοούσιος, are not Biblical terms, but philosophical, with meanings which had not yet been strictly defined by theological authority and usage; and therefore many conservative divines objected to them, all the more that they were understood during the controversy in different senses.

Οὐσία strictly means *being, actual being, real existence.* It comprehends all that is essential to the existence of the being. It received in the philosophy

of Aristotle the place of the first of the categories; that essential being to which all qualities are attached, and in which all attributes inhere. The Latin equivalent in usage was *substantia*, although the word had a different origin from *οὐσία*. Οὐσία more properly corresponded with *essentia*, and *substantia* with *ὑπόστασις*; but usage is more potent in determining the meaning of terms than are etymologies. There can be little doubt that the Latin *substantia* was in the mind of Hosius; and that he used *οὐσία* in the sense of Aristotle, as its equivalent in meaning.

Accordingly, *ὁμοούσιος* has as its equivalent *consubstantialis*, "*of one and the same substance.*" We may go to Tertullian for the usage of the term *substantia*. The most important passages of Tertullian are:

> "The mystery of the providential order, which arranges the Unity in a Trinity, setting in their order three, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; three, however, not in condition, but in relation; and not in *substance*, but in form; and not in power, but in aspect; nay rather, *of one substance, and of one condition, and of one power*, inasmuch as it is one God, from whom these relations and forms and aspects are reckoned in the name of Father and of Son and of Holy Spirit" (*Adv. Prax.*, 2). "Thus the connection of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, produces three adherent Persons, One (distinct) from Another. These three are *unum*, not *unus;* as it is said: 'I and my Father are one,' in respect of *unity of substance*, not *singularity of number*" (*Adv. Prax.*, 25). "But as for me, who derive the Son from no other source but from the *substance* of the Father," etc. (*Adv. Prax.*, 4).
>
> "The Word, therefore, is both always *in* the Father, as He says: 'I am in the Father'; and is always *with* God, according to what is written: 'And the Word was with God';

> and never separate from the Father, or other than the Father, since 'I and the Father are one.' This will be the προβολή taught by the truth, the guardian of the Unity, wherein we declare that the Son is a prolation from the Father, without being separated from Him" (*Adv. Prax.*, 8).

There was a correspondence between Dionysius of Rome, and Dionysius of Alexandria. Dionysius of Alexandria in his attacks upon the Modalists had been incautious in his language, and had used the term *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις* for the three persons of the Trinity.

This term, as then used, was a synonym of *οὐσία*, and the exact equivalent in etymological meaning of the Latin *substantia*. Dionysius of Rome, in a letter to Dionysius of Alexandria, protests against this language, and insists upon *ὁμοούσιος*. The correspondence was a friendly one; and it showed that the difference of opinion was more in terminology than in reality. As Dorner[1] intimates, it was a great misfortune that the question in dispute was not then more thoroughly elaborated, and decided by friendly correspondence. Dionysius of Alexandria yielded too readily to his namesake at Rome. But this incident makes it clear, that even when the East and West were agreed as to doctrine, they had not reached a consensus as to terminology. It is interesting that the terminology of Dionysius of Alexandria, which was then looked upon with suspicion, afterward became the orthodox usage of the Church.

The term *ὁμοούσιος* had been rejected in the East, in connection with the controversy with Paul of

[1] *Lehre von der Person Christi*, I, s. 752.

Samosata, at Antioch in 268–9. The reason for its rejection is not altogether certain. Athanasius states that it was there rejected because Paul used sophistical reasoning:

"For they who deposed the Samosatene took *coessential* in a bodily sense, because Paul had attempted sophistry and said: 'Unless Christ has of man become God, it follows that He is coessential with the Father, and if so, of necessity there are three essences, one of the previous essence, and the other two from it'; and therefore, guarding against this, they said with good reason, that Christ was not coessential. For the Son is not related to the Father as he imagined. But the bishops who anathematized the Arian heresy, understanding Paul's craft, and reflecting that the word *coessential* has not this meaning when used of things immaterial—on these grounds reasonably asserted on their part that the Son was coessential" (*De synodis*, 45).

Basil agrees with this, for he says (*Ep.* 52):

"Moreover, as a matter of fact, the members of the Synods, which met to discuss the case of Paul of Samosata, did find fault with the term as an unfortunate one. For they maintained that the *homoousion* set forth the idea both of essence, and of what is derived from it; so that the essence, when divided, confers the title of coessential on the parts into which it is divided. This explanation has some reason in the case of bronze, and coins made therefrom; but in the case of God the Father and God the Son, there is no question of substance anterior or even under-

lying both; the mere thought and utterance of such a thing is the last extravagance of impiety."

The terms *substantia* and *consubstantialis* had become fixed in the West in the conflict with Sabellianism; and therefore, could not in those regions be interpreted in a Sabellian way. But in the East the corresponding term, ὁμοούσιος, had been discredited in the conflict with Paul of Samosata, and therefore had a different meaning, and suggested Monarchianism. This difference of usage made great trouble for a long time, and stood in the way of the full acceptance of the Nicene Creed; not merely by the Arians, who were sufficiently condemned in other clauses of the Creed, but also by those who wished to be faithful to their local Creeds and their traditional opinions, and were afraid of the Monarchian tendencies of the new phraseology. Indeed, it became evident in the course of the conflict that ὁμοούσιος was in fact capable, not only of the interpretation given by Paul of Samosata, but also of the Sabellian interpretation, as implying not only that the Son was consubstantial, of one and the same substance with the Father; but that He was identically the same with the Father, the only difference being nominal or modal.

This became evident in the case of Marcellus of Ancyra, who in his controversy with the Arians reacted toward Sabellianism. He rejected the preexistence of the special properties of the Son before the incarnation, and limited the terms *Son*, *Image*,

First-born, to the incarnate Christ. The incarnation was only a temporary, incidental state; "The Logos, having completed His redemptive work, laid aside the manhood which He had assumed, surrendered the kingdom to the Father, and was again merged in the Deity, becoming what He was before the incarnation."[1]

Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium, reacted toward Paul of Samosata. Christ was, according to him, "a mere man supernaturally born of a virgin, and exalted to divine dignity. The Logos indwelling Christ was an impersonal attribute of God, whom Photinus described as Λογοπάτωρ, *i. e.*, both Father and Logos."[1]

The Semi-Arians were exceedingly bitter against these men as Monarchians, giving the logical consequence of the ὁμοούσιος. These Eastern misinterpretations had to be overcome before the Nicene Creed could be cordially accepted by them. Unfortunately the Creed was forced upon them by imperial authority, and the Eastern conscience rebelled.

The conservatives, who took an intermediate position, were soon known as Semi-Arians. They proposed the term ὁμοιούσιος, *of like substance* with the Father. But it soon became evident that this term left open, by its indefiniteness, a wide field of variation of opinions, some of which would not differ appreciably from the Nicene Creed, others of which would be practically Arian, and many of which would be intermediate, of various grades of difference; for

[1] Ottley, *Doctrine of the Incarnation*, p. 328, who quotes Basil, *Ep.* 69, 2.

[2] *V.* Ottley, p. 329.

it must be asked: *in what respect, to what extent* is the likeness of substance between Father and Son? Various ways of overcoming the difficulty were suggested, as: *according to the Scriptures, in all things, as to being, without any variation as to being.*

But no term could altogether take the place of ὁμοούσιος. While that was subject to misinterpretation, all the others were subject to still greater misunderstanding; and accordingly, so soon as there was a general agreement to rule out these misinterpretations, the term ὁμοούσιος gradually assumed a technical meaning, which was acceptable to all but the Arians.

This, however, did not altogether succeed until a term was adopted to set forth clearly and distinctly the difference of Father, Son, and Spirit.

The Westerns had an appropriate term, *persona;* but the Easterns had not. *Persona* had long been in use in the West, in the Roman sense, *mask;* and so *character, function;* preserved in our use of *personate.*

Thus Tertullian[1]: "I find both in the Gospels and in the Apostles a visible and an invisible God, under a manifest and personal distinction in the condition of both."

Here *personal* is *functional,* distinct mode of existence, and not *personal* in the sense of modern popular usage, of distinct and separate *individuality.*

The Greek term that in course of time was selected to stereotype the meaning of the Trinitarian distinction was ὑπόστασις, *hypostasis.* This, in etymology, is the exact equivalent of *substantia, substance.* It

[1] *Adv. Prax.*, 15.

is so used in Heb. 1[3], where the Son is *the very image of the substance* of God. So also in the Nicene Creed itself, in the anathema, ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας, which is rendered in the Latin version of Hilarius (c. 356–361)[1] *ex alia substantia aut essentia, of another substance or being.*

In some passages Origen seems to distinguish between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις; and doubtless Dionysius of Alexandria was influenced by him in his use of the three hypostases; but he evidently was not clear in his own mind, and the term was abandoned, owing to the objection of Dionysius of Rome.

It is not altogether clear how the change of usage came about. But at the Synod of Alexandria in 362, Athanasius recognized that those who said τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, and those who said μία ὑπόστασις, differed only in terms and not in reality; and so both uses became tolerable, though better avoided. It was, however, the great Cappadocians, Basil († 379), Gregory of Nyssa († 394), and Gregory of Nazianzum († 390), who succeeded in giving the term a definite meaning, which made it appropriate for use in the distinction of the three persons of the Trinity.

> Basil says: "Essence has the same relation to *hypostasis* as the common has to the particular. Every one of us both shares in existence by the common term of essence, and by his own properties as such an one and such an one. In the same manner, in the matter in question, the term essence is common, like goodness, or Godhead, or any similar attribute; while hypostasis is contemplated in the special property of Fatherhood, Sonship, or in the power to sanctify" (*Ep.* 214).

[1] *De Synodis*, § 84.

This use of *ὑπόστασις* did not get into the Nicene Creed, or the Constantinopolitan; but it became the recognized traditional interpretation of the Creed, corresponding to *persona* in the West. The Greek *πρόσωπον* was avoided, because of the Sabellian misuse of it. The technical term is *μία οὐσία ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν, one substance in three hypostases.* The *hypostasis* is *mode* or *manner of subsistence;* each of the three subsists in His own special hypostasis. These distinctions, which Augustine used and enlarged upon, are fully expressed and carefully stated in the Athanasian Creed (3–28), on the basis of Augustine's doctrine.

It is evident that the terminology of the Creed is inadequate; the terms themselves are open to misconception and misinterpretation. It was necessary to maintain the unity of God over against Polytheism. No manner of Tritheism could be admissible in the Christian Church. The Son was as truly divine as the Father, and the Spirit as truly divine as the Son. It is difficult to see how a better term could have been used than the official *consubstantial.* Every other that could be thought of was tried, fought over for generations, and rejected; until the Church, East and West, settled down upon *ὁμοούσιος, consubstantial,* as orthodox, and has so maintained for centuries, but with its fixed, traditional, historical meaning.

It was no less necessary to maintain the difference between Father, Son, and Spirit. Those differences are recognized in the Nicene Creed as in the Apostles'

Creed, and so in the Constantinopolitan; but in none of these Creeds is there any term given to indicate these differences. The terms *persona*, in the West, and *hypostasis*, in the East, are theological terms rather than credal terms. They are more difficult to understand and less appropriate than *consubstantial*. They are more convenient than instructive; they are simply terms of technical, historical usage to express the distinction in the Godhead of Father, Son, and Spirit.

It is necessary to consider here the anathema at the close of the Nicene Creed, because it brings out more sharply some of the distinctions in the Creed itself. This anathema was not taken up into the Constantinopolitan, and has not been used in the recitation of the Creed, either in East or West.

They are anathematized who say that: (1) *There was a time when He was not;* (2) *He was not before He was begotten;* (3) *He was made out of nothing;* (4) *He is of another hypostasis or substance;* (5) *The Son of God is created, or changeable or alterable.*

This anathema rejects: (1) Origin of the Son of God in time, and therefore makes Him everlasting; (2) His birth in time, and makes His generation everlasting; (3) His origin out of nothing, and makes Him originate from the divine substance; (4) His being of any other substance than that of the Father; (5) His being changeable, alterable as a creature, and asserts His immutability, as divine.

The Son was begotten of the Father, not made or created. He was begotten prior to all creatures, *be-*

fore all ages, or *worlds*, as the Constantinopolitan has it; that is, before all time, everlastingly. The relation of Father and Son is an eternal relation.

This begetting of the Father did not beget another god, separate in being from the Father, so that two gods existed. That would deny the unity of God. It was a begetting within the divine substance, and not without and separate from the divine substance. In one and the same divine substance there existed from all eternity two distinct forms of existence, that of Father and that of Son. This is not to be understood in a Sabellian sense, that the divine Being sometimes manifests Himself as Father, sometimes as Son; for the Father and the Son always co-exist, never apart, always co-operating in everything and in every respect.

It was objected that these technical terms, *οὐσία*, *ὁμοούσια*, were not found in Holy Scripture; and that the term *ὑπόστασις* has a different meaning in doctrinal usage from what it has in the New Testament. That raised the question whether Creeds and doctrines of the Church should always be limited to the language of Holy Scripture.

There are many in our day who agree with the earlier objectors to the Nicene Creed in this respect.

But it has been found in the experience of all ages, and of all organized Churches which have Creeds and doctrines, that such a position is impracticable. The Bible does not give us a Creed, but only the materials for a Creed. All is in the concrete, and not in formulas of doctrine. All Christians hold to

the Bible as the ultimate authority in religion; but they differ in their interpretation of the Bible. It is just this interpretation of the Bible that must be defined, in order to rule out mistaken and erroneous interpretations.

The Arians appealed to the Scriptures no less truly than did those who maintained the Nicene faith, and those called Semi-Arians, or the intermediate party.

So from that day to this schismatics and heretics of every sort have appealed to the Holy Scriptures; and the only way to overcome them has always been to show that their interpretations of Scripture are erroneous. When an attempt is made to define Scripture statements, it is necessary to do so in terms that rule out the false interpretation; and hence it is necessary to use other than Scripture terms.

Furthermore, the Scriptures express the same doctrine in many different ways, in different authors and writings.

A complete statement of the doctrine can only be gained by a comprehensive study of all of these passages. When the synthesis is made, it is necessary to state that synthesis in general terms, which usually are not given in Scripture. It was on this principle that the Nicene Creed uses *οὐσία*, *ὁμοούσιος*. The words are indeed not Biblical; but the Biblical doctrine is best summed up in the use of these terms.

We must now inquire what is the Biblical support for the Nicene doctrine of the relation of the Son of God to God the Father. Several passages of the Old

Testament, of the Apocrypha, and of the New Testament come into view.

(1) We have first to consider that there are in the Old Testament, in the ancient histories, and also at times in other writings, a large number of theophanies, that is, manifestations of God, or of *Yahweh*—the personal name of the God of Israel—to His people in visible, audible, or tangible forms, of man, or angel, or voice, or light, or convulsions of nature. These are all manifestations of the one God, and not of subordinate gods, messengers of the one God. Now, St. Paul (I Cor. 10^{1-4}) identifies Christ with the theophanic God of the Old Testament; and that has always been the teaching of the Church. Therefore, if Christ is God in theophany, He is the one God in theophany, and not a different, subordinate, mediatorial god.

(2) The Old Testament predicts in a large number of passages the advent of God in theophany for the salvation of His people and the overthrow of their enemies. Two of these passages (Is. 40^{3} *seq.* and Mal. 3^{1}) are referred by St. Mark (1^{1-3}) to Jesus Christ as heralded by John the Baptist. If Jesus Christ is the theophanic Yahweh predicted by the Old Testament prophets, He is Yahweh Himself in theophany, and not a different subordinate god.

(3) In Prov. 8^{22} *seq.* the divine Wisdom is represented as originating before all creatures, and as taking part in their creation. The word used in Hebrew is קנה, which means to *get*. It may mean *get* in the sense of creation. So it is translated in the

Greek Version; and Wisdom is represented as saying: "Yahweh created me in (or as) the beginning of His ways." Upon this passage especially the Arians built their doctrine of the creation of Wisdom, and that the Son of God as Wisdom was, therefore, a creature. But really קנה here is parallel with חול, Prov. $8^{24, 25}$:

> "When there were no depths, I was brought forth;
> . . . . . .
> Before the hills was I brought forth."

This implies for קנה rather the parental relation of *begetting*.

The Revised Version has weakened it into the subordinate meaning of *possess*. The whole context indicates further that it is the divine Wisdom, חכמה, that is in question; not a Wisdom separable from the Godhead except in idea, in mediatorial manifestation, and in working. This conception of divine Wisdom passes over into the apocryphal book of *Ecclesiasticus*, or *Wisdom of Ben Sira* (c. 24), where the חכמה appears in the Greek *σοφία*. Here again, unfortunately, the Greek Version has *ἔκτισε* (v. 9); but the original Hebrew was doubtless essentially the same as Prov. 8, and the entire representation is similar. For the *σοφία* came forth from the mouth of God, as a man's wisdom from his lips. She was enthroned on the pillar of cloud, and so identified with the theophanic Yahweh of the Pentateuchal history. She is also identified with the Shekina of the tabernacle and the temple, the abiding theo-

phanic presence of God in the Holy of Holies. So it is evident that σοφία is the revealed, or manifested God.

Again, in the *Wisdom of Solomon* ($7^{24\ seq.}$):

> "She is the breath of the power of God;
> And a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty: . . .
> For she is the effulgence of the everlasting light,
> The unspotted mirror of the power of God,
> And the image of His goodness;
> And being one, she can do all things;
> And abiding in herself, she maketh all things new:
> And in all ages, entering into holy souls,
> She maketh them friends of God, and prophets.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> For she is more beautiful than the sun,
> And above every order of the stars,
> Compared with light she is found before it."

It is evident that Wisdom is here the divine Wisdom, making itself known to man, not separable from God as a distinct being.

Indeed, the strict and rigid doctrine of the unity of God among the Jews, both Alexandrian and Palestinian, made it impossible for them to regard a theophany, or the divine Wisdom, as a different god from the one only veritable God, Yahweh.

There can be no doubt that these conceptions of the divine Wisdom, and especially those of the *Book of Wisdom*, were in the mind of the Apostle, when he wrote the Epistle to the Colossians (1^{12-22}); for the phrases are very much the same as those he uses of Christ, when he represents Him as:

"The image of the invisible God;
The first-born of all creation;
. . . . . .
All things have been created through Him, and unto Him;
And He is before all things
And in Him all things consist."

Christ is here prior to all creatures as the first-born Son of God. *The first-born* is a technical term for the son and heir. It does not imply other sons. But the most significant term is "the image of the invisible God," the visible image of the invisible God, the image in which the invisible God makes Himself visible; in other words, God as visible, as distinguished from God as invisible; not two gods, but the one God in two distinct modes of existence, the one visible, the other invisible.

The Epistle to the Hebrews (1^{1} *seq.*) also unfolds these same conceptions of Wisdom, and applies them to Christ. Here the one who is Son is He

"Whom He appointed heir of all things,
Through whom also He made the ages;
Who, being the effulgence of His glory,
And the very image of His substance,
And upholding all things by the word of His power,
When He had made purification of sins,
Sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high;
Having become so much better than the angels,
As He hath inherited a more excellent name than they."

And then the writer goes on to quote several passages of the Old Testament referring to Yahweh; and he does not hesitate to apply them to Jesus Christ as Son of God.

The most important terms here are "the effulgence of His glory," and "the very image of His substance."

The effulgence, or radiation, of the divine glory is distinguished from the glory itself not in substance or being, but only in manifestation. The very image of the substance, or essential being of God, is not a separate substance or being, but merely its expression.

The most important passage is the Prologue of the Gospel of John, where the Logos takes the place of *σοφία*. This change of terminology was due, partly to the Alexandrian theology, especially the use of the λόγος in the philosophy of Philo; and partly to the Palestinian theology in its use of *Memra*. Both of these terms, alike meaning *Word*, were employed to distinguish the *immanent* God of revelation from the transcendent God. All the approaches of God to the creature are classed as theophanic in character, whether made to the human senses, as the Biblical theophanies, or only to the inner nature of man, as in the inspiration of prophets, or in the creation and government of the universe. The Alexandrian and the Palestinian Jewish theologies distinguish between the transcendent God and the immanent, theophanic God, the *Word;* not as different gods, but as different modes of existence of the same God.

The Prologue of John's Gospel uses this terminology for Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and, by so using it, identifies Him at once as to being with the one only veritable God; but at the same time dis-

tinguishes Him in mode of existence and working in the world.

> "In the beginning was the Word,
> And the Word was with God,
> And the Word was God.
> The same was in the beginning with God.
> All things were made by Him;
> And without Him was not any thing made.
> That which hath been made was Life in Him;
> And the Life was the Light of men.
> And the Light shineth in the darkness;
> And the darkness apprehended it not."

The Logos is definitely said to be *God;* that to a monotheistic Jewish Christian could be no other than to identify the substance of the Son with the Father, as the being of one and the same God. And yet the Word is distinguished from God as existing (πρὸς) with Him, "implying," as Vincent says, "living union and communion, . . . the active notion of intercourse."[1]

Plummer thinks that we might paraphrase "face to face with God," or "at home with God."[2] This conception is essentially the same as that of the *Wisdom* of the Old Testament.

The Son of God as Logos is Life and Light, going forth from God to mediate between God and men, to impart life, and light, and guidance. The Life, and Light, and Word are not different from God in substance, or being, but different only as the original source is different from that which emanates from

[1] *Word Studies*, II, p. 34.
[2] *Comm. on John, Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools*, p. 64.

it; a difference between the deity in itself and the deity in its manifestation. As we have seen, the Nicene Creed endeavors to set this forth, chiefly by the use of Biblical terms: "God of God, Light of Light."

But it was felt that these might be evaded by the Arians; and so the stronger expressions were used: "Very God of very God; of the substance of the Father; consubstantial with the Father; Begotten, not made"; and an anathema was proclaimed upon those who said that He was made out of nothing as a creature; or that He was of a different substance from the Father, or that He was a being capable of variation or change.

The Nicene divines were fully aware that they had not solved the mystery of the relation of the Son of God to the Father. They were content for the present to rule out Arianism, and to maintain the unity of God the Father and the Son over against a reaction toward Polytheism. The peril of a reaction toward Sabellianism was overcome by the distinction between Father, Son, and Spirit in the three great sections of the Creed; and when this was found insufficient, by an interpretation of the Creed by the use of *ὑπόστασις*, *hypostasis*, in Greek and *persona* in Latin, as technical terms to express these distinctions; inadequate, it is true, yet having definite historic meanings, which have fixed the meaning of the Creed throughout Christian history. They had to be translated into modern languages, and the word *person*, derived from the Latin, has been used,

but in the same definite historic sense as the original, and not in the common and best-known meaning of the word. The terms must ever be explained anew to each generation of ministers, and by them to their people, as the only way of avoiding the antithetical errors of Arianism and Sabellianism, to which different minds ever tend in accordance with circumstances and training.

CHAPTER IV

THE INCARNATION

The third article of the Creed defines the incarnation as a coming down from heaven, a being made flesh and man for the salvation of men, and, indeed, as a conception of the Holy Spirit and birth of the Virgin Mary.

The Nicene Creed, in the third article, reads: "*Who for us men and for our salvation came down and was incarnate and was made man.*"

The Creed of Cæsarea had: "Who for our salvation was incarnate and made his home among men." It is evident that the Creed of Cæsarea was based upon the Gospel of John, as that of Rome had been upon the Gospel of Luke.

(1) The phrase, *Who for our salvation*, corresponds with the *Saviour*, which was originally in the Apostles' Creed, as in the Symbol of the Fish (*v.* p. 19). It is implied in the Roman Creed and is here expressed. This phrase, however, covers all the acts of Christ as expressed in the subsequent clauses, and not merely the Incarnation, for all Christ's acts from the Incarnation to the Second Advent are *for our salvation*. As Jesus said (John 12^{47}): "I came not to judge the world, but to save the world."

(2) The Nicene Creed prefixes to this phrase, "*for us men.*" The reason for this addition is not clear.

The emphasis upon "*us men*" indicates that the Incarnation was not for Himself, but specifically for men; He not only became man, but also all those other things which He did, including His second advent to judgment, all *for the sake of mankind.* Both of these phrases passed over into the Constantinopolitan and the ultimate Nicene Creeds, in East and West.

(3) *Was incarnate, made flesh,* σαρκωθέντα, of the Creed of Cæsarea, which was taken up into the Nicene Creed, and so into the Constantinopolitan, is based on John 1[14], *The Word became flesh.* Irenæus (I, 10) has, *made flesh for our salvation,* as we have seen (p. 60), using an Asian form of the Apostles' Creed. *Flesh,* in noun and verb, means here, as in the case of the Resurrection, not the flesh of the body, but man as flesh in antithesis with God.

The Constantinopolitan adds here, from the Creed of Jerusalem, *of the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin,* as in the Roman Creed, thus bringing into the Nicene Creed, as in use both in East and West, the conception of the divine Spirit and the Virgin Birth. This we have already sufficiently considered. It is thought by some that this addition was to rule out the doctrine of Apollinaris of the heavenly origin of the body of Christ. But, while this is possible, it is not probable. The phrase does not seem to be definite enough for that purpose, and nowhere in the Creed is there anything that hints of this special heresy, the denial of the rational human soul to Christ.

(4) The Nicene Creed, however, prefixes *came down* in order to emphasize the primary fact that the Son of God became flesh by an act of His own, by a descent from heaven, in antithesis with the *ascent* of a subsequent clause. This also is in accordance with many passages of the Gospel of John. The Constantinopolitan made this more distinct by the addition of the words, *from heaven.*

(5) The Creed of Cæsarea had, *made His home among men.* This was too indefinite, and so it was replaced by the strong term, *was made man.*

It is evident that this Creed, as distinguished from the Roman, emphasized the Incarnation as an act of the Son of God Himself. So also the reality of the human nature is emphasized by *was incarnate*, and *was made man* (σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα).

As to the Virgin Birth, it was not thought necessary to state it in the original Nicene Creed, as it was not in dispute at the time. It came into the Constantinopolitan, because it was in the revised Creed of Jerusalem, upon which that Creed was based.

The remaining Christological articles of the Constantinopolitan differ from the Apostles' Creed only in certain phrases but in no essential particular.

Article IV of the Nicene Creed had simply *suffered*, based on the Creed of Eusebius, which had also only that. The Constantinopolitan took from the Creed of Jerusalem the fuller statement: *and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried.*

Article V of the Nicene Creed had, *and risen on*

the third day, from the Creed of Cæsarea. The Constantinopolitan simply adds, *according to the Scriptures*, from I Cor. 15^{4}, in fulfilment of the prophecy of Christ (Luke 24^{46}, John 2^{19-22}, Mark 10^{33-34}). The final Western form is: *And the third day He rose again, according to the Scriptures* (*v.* p. 137 *seq*).

Article VI of the Nicene Creed had, *ascended into the heavens*, instead of *unto the Father*, of the Creed of Eusebius. The Constantinopolitan is the same as the Nicene here. The Western Revision has, *ascended into heaven* (*v.* p. 153 *seq.*).

Article VII of the Nicene Creed has no clause for the *Session*. In this omission it follows the Creed of Cæsarea, doubtless in both because the *Session* is implied between the Ascension and the Second Advent. But the omission is supplied in the Constantinopolitan, which, as the Creed of Jerusalem, has, *and seated on the right hand of the Father* (*v.* p. 155 *seq.*).

Article VIII of the Nicene Creed has, *and coming to judge the living and the dead.* This is an abbreviation of the Creed of Cæsarea, which has, *and coming again in glory to judge the living and the dead* (*v.* p. 164 *seq.*). The Constantinopolitan has: "*and coming again with glory to judge the living and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.*" The final revision is the same, except for the indicative in place of participle. It is probable that the last clause was to rule out Marcellus, who had thought that the reign of Christ would end when He delivered over the completed kingdom to the Father (I Cor. 15^{24}).

CHAPTER V

PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

The Article on the Holy Spirit is enlarged in the Constantinopolitan so as to state that He is Lord, the Giver of Life, who inspired the prophets, who proceedeth from the Father and is to be glorified jointly with Father and Son.

The Creed of Cæsarea had, *also in one Holy Spirit.* The Creed of Nicæa had, *and in the Holy Spirit.* The omission of *one* is difficult to understand because *one* is used both of the Father and the Son: and it would be most natural to use it here also. I know of no good reason, except that it might have been deemed unnecessary, as in the case of the Roman Creed in the West (*v.* p. 173 *seq.*).

The Constantinopolitan, on the basis of the Creed of Epiphanius, greatly enlarges this article by the following additions:

(1) *The Lord*, (2) *the Giver of Life*, (3) *who proceedeth from the Father*, (4) *who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified*, (5) *who spake by the prophets.*

These additions, made in the Revised Creed of Jerusalem of Epiphanius, were due to the controversy with the so-called Macedonians, or Pneumatomachians, who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

(1) *The Lord.* This ascribes the same lordship to the Holy Spirit as to the Son of God, and, indeed, in the same sense, and so asserts the divinity of the Spirit. As the Athanasian Creed has it: "So the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Spirit Lord: and yet not three Lords, but one Lord."

(2) *The Giver of Life: cf.* Rom. 8^2, "*the Spirit of Life.*" The divine Spirit is life-giving in the original creation of the world (Gen. 1^2). He is the Spirit of life in the theophany of the cherubic chariot of Ezekiel 1. He is life-giving, especially in regeneration, in connection with Christian baptism (*v.* p. 174 *seq.*).

(3) *Who proceedeth from the Father.*

This is the most important item in connection with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The divine Spirit equally with the Son is from the Father; the difference is that the Son is *begotten*, the Spirit *proceedeth*. This doctrine is based on John 15^{26}, *the Spirit of truth that proceedeth from the Father.*

The divinity of the Spirit and the work of the Spirit have been considered in connection with the Apostles' Creed (*v.* p. 173 *seq.*); we have here only to consider the relation indicated by the procession. This *procession* is a technical term to comprehend the entire relation of the divine Spirit to the Father, and to distinguish the relation of the Spirit from the relation of the Son. The same general questions arise with reference to the relation of the Spirit to the Father as to the relation of the Son.

The Spirit is also of the substance of the Father:

God of God, true God of true God, not made, consubstantial with the Father.

These phrases were not given here, because, having been given in connection with the Son, they were sufficiently implied in connection with the divine Spirit by the terms that were given. The Spirit could no more be a third god than the Son could be a second god. The Spirit could no more be a creature than could the Son. The procession of the Spirit from the Father was as truly eternal as the generation of the Son. It could no more be said of the Spirit than of the Son: *There was a time when He was not; He was made of nothing.*

And so the Athanasian Creed has it: "The Holy Spirit is of the Father and the Son: not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding" (*v.* p. 275).

This leads us to the addition in the Western form of the Constantinopolitan Creed, which was never in the Eastern forms, and which is still bitterly opposed by the Greeks and Orientals as an unauthorized addition, namely, the *filioque = and the Son;* so as to teach the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son. This doctrine seems to have been the common doctrine of the Western Church from very early times; and to have become especially prominent in Augustine and the school of Lerins, and so in Gaul and Spain.

It first appears in an official statement at the Council of Toledo in 589 in the recitation of the Nicene Creed. Its introduction into the Creed was probably due to the Athanasian Creed, in the sec-

tion cited above. It was not officially sanctioned in Rome until quite late. Pearson[1] and Neale[2] attribute its introduction into the Roman text to Nicolas I (858–867); but it was not used in the Liturgy till 1014 by Benedict VIII.

The Orientals object that there is no scriptural authority for the addition, that the addition to the Creed was unauthorized, and that the statement is incorrect.

(*a*) There is no express scriptural authority for the statement. John 15^{26}, $16^{14\text{-}15}$, 20^{22}, all refer to the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit as the surrogate, or vicar, of Christ; not to an eternal mission, still less to procession.

(*b*) There can be no doubt that the *filioque* clause came into the Creed through local provincial usage, and spread without general authority; and that it was not recognized by Rome as in the Creed for centuries, although the doctrine was never questioned, so far as we know, in the West.

(*c*) We have now to inquire whether or not it is sound doctrine, as a necessary consequence of the doctrine of the Spirit already established. This the West asserts, the East denies.

We have first to ascertain what is the Western doctrine. It is admitted that the procession of the Spirit from the Son is not to be understood in precisely the same sense as the procession from the Father. The Father is the one sole fountain of the Deity. As the Son is begotten of the Father eter-

[1] Art. VIII, p. 576. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 1167.

nally, so the Spirit proceedeth from the Father eternally.

The Westerns think it necessary to define the relation of the Spirit to the Son as not merely temporal but eternal. The phrase, *and the Son*, was designed to teach that the Son and the Father act together, conjointly from all eternity in one spiration, and not in two separable and distinct spirations.

This was determined finally by the Council of Lyons in 1274: "quod Spiritus Sanctus æternaliter ex Patre et Filio, non tanquam ex duobus principiis, sed tanquam ex uno principio, non duabus spirationibus, sed unica spiratione procedit."

The doctrine of the unity of the Godhead indeed implies that the Son should act eternally with the Father in the spiration of the Spirit, and not separately and apart from Him, in a second and different act.

This does not, however, in any way depart from the doctrine that the Father is primary in the Godhead, and the Son secondary; it denies, however, that the Father and Son act separately and apart in two distinct acts.

The doctrine of the procession of the Spirit is thus stated by Tertullian:[1] "I believe the Spirit [to proceed] from no other source than from the Father *through the Son*."

The Easterns really hold the doctrine as so stated, and would doubtless agree to it, if there could be a free Council, in which they might have their rightful place and influence. This addition was made to

[1] *Adv. Prax.*, 4.

the Creed without their knowledge or consent; and they have never been able to understand it, or accept it.

The doctrine of the procession of the Spirit belongs to the sphere of the eternal mission of the Spirit, and not to the specific temporal mission in the Christian dispensation.

This addition of the *filioque* to the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit gives the relation of the divine Spirit to the Son as well as to the Father; and thus is not altogether harmonious with the second section of the Creed, which gives only the relation of the Son to the Father and not to the divine Spirit. The question emerges whether the divine Spirit has an active relation to the Son; and whether the relation of the Spirit to the Godhead is alike passive to Father and Son. There have been writers who have tended to the opinion that the divine Spirit was the maternal principle of the Godhead, and as such shared in the generation of the Son; but sober theologians have avoided such tendencies, because the divine Spirit is always third in the Godhead, not in any temporal sense, or relation of inferiority of being, but of order.

A still more profound question arises as to the relation of Son and Spirit to the Father: as to whether there are not active relations as well as the passive ones of generation and procession. There are certainly active relations taught in Holy Scripture. The Logos was *with* God, in loving communion. The Spirit is represented as interposing with God on behalf of Christians. So Christ is active in His medi-

ation with the Father in His mediatorial priesthood. He not only represents God to men, but also men to God. These relations of the Spirit and the Son are, however, usually referred to the *work* of the Son and the Spirit on behalf of mankind. The question of the premundane work of the Son and the Spirit, and of their eternal active relation, has not been opened up in Theology.

Modern theologians have, however, used the principle of *love* as best explanatory of the active relation of the intertrinitarian Persons. The three, Father, Son, and Spirit, are in an eternal relation of mutual, ever-active, intercommunicating love. Love in its perfect form is ever *triune*, cannot be single, and is even incomplete when double. Trinity is necessary to its completion and perfection: for two must join in love to a third; otherwise, mutual love has no expression.

(4) *Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified.*

This passage ascribes the same identical worship and ascription of glory to the Holy Spirit as to the Father and the Son; and also emphasizes that worship and glorification as not separate and apart, as if They were different beings or individuals, but in the same act, at the same time, as the worship of One Being, One Individual, with the recognition of the three Hypostases or Persons of the Trinity, in their distinct functional activities and relations.

(5) *Who spake by the Prophets.*

This is a recognition that the Holy Spirit of the

Church is the same Holy Spirit that inspired the Prophets of the Old and New Testaments. This was more fully stated in the revised Creed of the Armenian Church, which has: "in the Law and in the Prophets and in the Gospels."

The original Nicene Creed closes with the faith in the Holy Spirit and the anathema; but the Constantinopolitan, on the basis of the revised Creed of Jerusalem, gives the remaining articles of the primitive Christian Faith. These do not differ from the corresponding ones of the Apostles' Creed in any essential particular, but only in variety of phrases.

Article X in the Constantinopolitan has, *in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.* This is the most complete credal statement of the nature of the Church. As we have seen, the original Roman Creed had only *holy Church*, enlarged subsequently to *holy Catholic Church* (*v.* p. 184 *seq.*).

The Creed of Jerusalem had, *in one holy Catholic Church.* The constituents of the Church are *Unity*, *Sanctity*, *Catholicity*, and *Apostolicity*. These were always implied, whether stated or not. The merit of the Constantinopolitan is that it states these four constituents.

This statement is especially important in modern times, when the elements of Unity and Apostolicity are dim in the minds of most Protestant Christians (*v.* p. 190).

Article XI of the Constantinopolitan has, *We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins.* This is a revision of the older Jerusalem Creed, *and in*

one baptism for the remission of sins; and a fuller statement of the simpler form of the Apostles' Creed, *the remission of sins.* This simple statement implies all that the fuller statement gives us, namely: (1) That the remission of sins is the baptismal remission at the moment of regeneration, and not the remission of sins committed after baptism, whether we think of venial or mortal sins; (2) that repentance is a condition of remission; (3) that baptism is the sacrament of this remission of sins; (4) that there is one only baptism for this purpose.

The Constantinopolitan prefixes a verb here.

This was doubtless for rhetorical purposes, for the more solemn recitation of the Creed: *we confess,* or *acknowledge.* This, in the Roman or Western form, becomes singular, *Confiteor,=I acknowledge.* This change to the singular is to correspond with a change from plural to singular throughout.

Article XII of the Constantinopolitan has: *We look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the age to come.*

This is a fuller statement of the older Jerusalem Creed, *and in the resurrection of the flesh and in eternal life;* and of the Old Roman Creed, *resurrection of the flesh.*

(*a*) The verb changes the faith into Christian hope: *we look for; cf.* II Peter 3^{12}.

(*b*) The more general term *dead* is used instead of the more specific *flesh* of the Western Creed, not with a different meaning but as a more Pauline phrase.

(*c*) The phrase *the age to come* is a richer expres-

sion than *eternal*. *The age to come* is the age subsequent to the second advent and resurrection of the dead, as distinguished from *the present age*, *the age that now is*, which precedes the resurrection and the second advent that introduces it.

Thus the Nicene Creed, in the Constantinopolitan form, embraces, like the Apostles' Creed, the twelve essential articles of the Christian Faith. The articles on the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit are fuller and richer, because they were necessary to overcome the Arian and Sabellian heresies, which threatened to destroy Christianity no less than did Gnosticism and Ebionitism, which preceded them.

The Chicago Lambeth platform of the Anglican Church makes this form of the Nicene Creed a sufficient statement of the Christian faith; that is, sufficient as a basis of unity for the Christian Church; not sufficient for a full knowledge of Holy Scripture, or Christian theology. Any Christian Church that holds to the Nicene Creed may be regarded as Christian, and may enter into that union, so far as doctrine is concerned. A Church that does not adhere to the Nicene Creed cannot be recognized as a Christian Church.

Most Christian bodies require much more, not only of candidates for the ministry, but also for admission to communion. But they must require as much as this, if they are to continue to be recognized as Christian Churches. The great Protestant Churches, no less than the Greek and the Roman, must reject all

those heresies which were condemned once for all in the third and fourth Christian centuries; and they cannot recognize the dynamic Monarchianism of Paul of Samosata, revived by Harnack and his followers, any more than the modal form of Sabellianism, or the Arian or Semi-Arian heresies of the Unitarians, as having any valid place in historical Christianity.

CHAPTER VI

THE ATHANASIAN CREED

The name *Athanasian* is by tradition attached to this Creed, whether as ascribing authorship to Athanasius, or as asserting that it was his faith. There can be no doubt that for many centuries Athanasius was regarded as its author, just as the Apostles were regarded as the authors of the Old Roman Creed; but it is quite probable that originally the tradition meant nothing more than that the doctrine of the Creed was the doctrine of Athanasius, just as the doctrine of the Roman Creed was the doctrine of the Apostles.

This, however, could be true only of the first section of the Creed; and even here the doctrine of the Trinity is further developed than in the writings of Athanasius; and the form of statement, phraseology, and mode of thought are Augustinian rather than Athanasian. There can be no doubt that the Creed was not earlier than the fifth century, the age of Augustine. Athanasius died in 373.

This Creed did not originate in an œcumenical council like the Nicene Creed, or in a local church as a catechetical creed like the Old Roman Creed.

It is in its very nature a dogmatic creed, of obscure origin both as to date and locality; which won its way to universal acceptance in the West by its

great merits, but which never came into use in the East, except occasionally through some theologians.

There are three theories as to its origin:

(1) The older view, maintained by Waterland, and now urged by Burn and Kattenbusch, is that this Creed belongs to the first half of the fifth century. Burn differs from Kattenbusch in his opinion of its relation to Augustine. Kattenbusch thinks that Augustine used it in his *Enchiridion* (c. 420), making the Athanasian Creed earlier. Burn thinks that the Creed uses Augustine, and so makes it subsequent to 420. Burn well says: "If the main portion of Part I, clauses 7–19, . . . is not the fruit of Augustine's influence upon the author, but exercised, on the contrary, a constraining influence upon Augustine, the Church owes an unacknowledged debt of gratitude to a mind superior to that of the great African thinker." [1]

Several theories have been put forth as to authors. Waterland urged Hilary of Arles († 450); Harvey (*Creeds*, II, 577) suggested Victricius; Antelmius (1693) and Ommanney (1897), Vincentius of Lerins; Burn, Honoratus, founder of the monastery of Lerins († 429). The clauses of the Creed on the Incarnation condemn Apollinarianism, but do not condemn the characteristic features of Nestorianism or Monophysitism.

(2) Morin ascribes the Creed to Cæsarius of Arles († 542). He is followed by Turner[2] who says it might be urged that "a document which shows so intimate

[1] *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 146. [2] *Use of Creeds*, 74–75.

a dependence on St. Augustine is less likely to have been composed in Southern Gaul at a time when the whole school of Lerins was in open revolt against St. Augustine's teaching on Grace and Free Will, than at a somewhat later date when the controversy was free from any element of personal bitterness." To this it might be replied that the author would be all the more inclined to emphasize his concord with the common Faith in the Incarnation represented by Augustine when they were challenging his doctrines of Grace, which had not been finally adopted by the Church.

(3) The third theory of the origin of this Creed was proposed by Swainson, and Lumby, and followed in the main by Schaff and Harnack. This finds two sections of the Creed originating at different times: the earlier the Trinitarian section, which was composed by itself; the later the Christological treatise. These were combined early in the ninth century in the present form. This theory has been disproved so far as the date is concerned by Loofs and Burn. The external argument from silence and reference has been shown to depend on insufficient study of documents of the eighth century.

It is quite true that these two parts are so distinct that they may have been composed at different times and subsequently joined together. But the literary style and mode of statement of the doctrine of the second part is essentially the same as that of the first part; and it is improbable that the style of the second part was merely an assimilation to that

of the first part. They could not, therefore, have been composed apart at any great interval of time, and they must have had the same author.

(4) Loofs proposed the theory that the Athanasian Creed was a growth on the basis of a sermon on the Apostles' Creed, expanding it in the clauses on the Trinity and the Incarnation after the method of the Nicene Creed. Loofs thinks that the Creed originated between 450 and 600. The theory of Loofs has been criticised by Burn successfully, so far as its basis on a sermon on the Apostles' Creed is concerned, but not otherwise. Internal evidence shows that the Creed has been a growth, and was not in its present form a unit.

The sections 38–43 seem to have been added to the Christological section, just as truly as that similar additions to the Nicene Creed were made in the East, and especially in the Constantinopolitan, in order to completeness of Christological statement of the Faith of the Church. The Creed has as its basis (1) the *Catholic Faith in the Trinity*, and (2) the *Right Faith in the Incarnation.* These two sections are essentially in the same style, form, and mode of thought; and must have come from the same hand. But there are sections here and there which seem not homogeneous. Thus §12 seems to be tacked on: if original, it would have been in two clauses after §§8 and 9. So §§19, 20 seem to be repetitions, and not in accord with the terse style of the Creed. I also doubt the damnatory clauses, especially §§ 28, 29, 44. Such clauses belong to conciliar Creeds, and

not to sermons on the Creed, or to statements of the Faith by individual theologians.

As to the main body of the Creed, both in its Trinitarian and its Christological sections, it seems to depend on Augustine, and to have come from the school of Lerins. The most important question is, whether it antedates the Nestorian controversy, or whether it depends on the Chalcedonian formula. It may well be that the terminology of the Christological section is Western and older than Chalcedon, and that the formula does not go beyond the Western terminology; but that proves nothing.

Indeed, the Chalcedonian formula is largely based on the *Epistola dogmatica* of Pope Leo I to Bishop Flavian, which was, indeed, adopted by the Council. The question is whether the Athanasian Creed condemns the essential errors of Nestorianism and Eutychianism. It is evident that it does not. It is significant that the Creed agrees so closely with the sections of the formula of John of Antioch against Apollinaris to the exclusion of those clauses which are distinctly against Nestorius; these imply a common basis or a common antithesis. The Synod of Rome in 377 rejected Apollinarianism as did the second œcumenical Council at Constantinople, 381. These are back of the Athanasian Creed, but not the Tome of Leo, or the Roman Council of 430 which condemned Nestorius, or Cassian's attack on Nestorius. It seems to me very improbable that any definition of the Incarnation in Gaul subsequent to 430 could have altogether ignored Nestorianism after

such a decided rejection of it in Rome and in Gaul.

The first part of the Athanasian Creed sets forth the Nicene Faith in the Augustinian form as follows:

(3) The Catholic Faith is this: that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;

(4) Neither confounding the Persons: nor dividing the Substance.

(5) For there is one Person of the Father: another of the Son: and another of the Holy Ghost.

(6) But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.

(7) Such as the Father is: such is the Son: and such is the Holy Ghost.

(8) The Father uncreate: the Son uncreate: and the Holy Ghost uncreate.

(9) The Father incomprehensible (*immensus*): the Son incomprehensible: and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible.

(10) The Father eternal: the Son eternal: and the Holy Ghost eternal.

(11) And yet they are not three eternals: but one eternal.

[(12) As also there are not three uncreated: nor three incomprehensible (*immensi*), but one uncreated: and one incomprehensible (*immensus*).]

(13) So likewise the Father is Almighty: the Son, Almighty: and the Holy Ghost, Almighty.

(14) And yet they are not three Almighties: but one Almighty.

(15) So the Father is God: the Son is God: and the Holy Ghost is God.

(16) And yet they are not three Gods: but one God.

(17) So likewise the Father is Lord: the Son, Lord: and the Holy Ghost, Lord.

(18) And yet not three Lords: but one Lord.

[(19) For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord,

(20) So are we forbidden by the Catholic Religion: to say, There be three Gods, or three Lords.]

(21) The Father is made of none: neither created, nor begotten.

(22) The Son is of the Father alone: not made, nor created: but begotten.

(23) The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten: but proceeding.

(24) So there is one Father, not three Fathers: one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

(25) And in this Trinity none is afore, or after another: none is greater, or less than another.

(26) But the whole three Persons are coeternal, and coequal.

(27) So that in all things, as aforesaid: the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, is to be worshipped.

[(28) He therefore that will be saved, let him thus think of the Trinity.]

The distinctive features are the following:

(1) The doctrine of the divine Spirit is not given in a third part of the Creed as in the earlier Creeds, but with the doctrine of the Father and the Son, in one part together. The divine Spirit accordingly has the same predicates as the Son and the Father, except that the special properties of each are distinguished. This doctrine of the divine Spirit presupposes the heresy of the Macedonians, condemned by the first Council of Constantinople.

(2) The term *person* is used for the definition of the three Trinitarian distinctions, as in Augustine, and in accord with the *hypostasis* of the Cappadocians, implying the controversies as to the Nicene Creed with the Semi-Arians, resulting in the reconciliation of practically all of them but the Macedonians, in accordance with the explanations of the Cappadocians.

The brief statement of the Constantinopolitan as to the Holy Spirit is thus greatly enlarged. The

Constantinopolitan had "and in the Holy Spirit, (*a*) the Lord and Giver of Life, (*b*) who proceedeth from the Father, (*c*) who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, (*d*) who spake by the Prophets." The Athanasian begins and ends with the assertion of the worship of the Spirit together with the Father and the Son (3–27). So also it ascribes to the Spirit equality in glory with the Father and Son (6).

The Constantinopolitan procession of the Spirit from the Father is enlarged into: "The Holy Spirit is of the Father and of the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten: but proceeding" (23). "The Lord and Giver of Life" of the Constantinopolitan is enlarged into sections 13–18, and later into 19–20.

The Athanasian goes beyond the Constantinopolitan in explicitly attributing to the divine Spirit the divine characteristics of the Son, which were only implicit in the Nicene Creed. Thus *not made, uncreated* (8, 23) *eternal* (6, 26). To these it adds, *incomprehensible* (*immensus*) (9, 12). The consubstantiality of the Son with the Father is extended to the Holy Spirit in the terms "*Trinity in Unity; neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance*" (3, 4); "*Such as the Father is: such is the Son: and such is the Holy Ghost*" (7); and in the repeated assertions of unity: "*And yet they are not three eternals: but one eternal*" (11). "*As also there are not three uncreated: nor three incomprehensible, but one uncreated: and one incomprehensible*" (12). "*And yet they are not three Almighties: but one Almighty*" (14). "*And yet they*

are not three Gods: but one God" (16). "*And yet not three Lords: but one Lord*" (18).

The personal distinctions are also clearly stated in the Athanasian, and that which is implied in the Constantinopolitan becomes explicit. Thus, after the assertion of the worship of the "*Trinity in Unity*," the first thing that is said is: "*neither confounding the Persons*" (4). "For there is one Person of the Father: another of the Son: and another of the Holy Ghost" (5).

The personal distinctions are finally stated as follows: "The Father is made of none: neither created, nor begotten" (21). "The Son is of the Father alone: not made, nor created: but begotten" (22). "The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten: but proceeding" (23). "So there is one Father, not three Fathers: one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts" (24). "And in this Trinity none is afore, or after another: none is greater, or less than another" (25). "But the whole three Persons are coeternal, and coequal" (26).

It is thus evident that the Athanasian is an important advance on the Constantinopolitan, in making explicit what was implied, and so ruling out the errors as to the divine Spirit, and explaining the Trinity in such a way as to remove any possibility of interpreting the Nicene Faith in a Sabellian direction, as was at first the fear of the Semi-Arians.

The second part of the Creed defines the *right Faith* in the Incarnation, as follows:

[(29) Furthermore it is necessary to everlasting salvation: that he also believe faithfully (*fideliter*) the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.]

(30) [For] the right Faith is, that we believe and confess: that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man;

(31) God, of the Substance of the Father; begotten before the worlds (*secula*): and Man, of the substance of His Mother, born in the world.

(32) Perfect God: and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.

(33) Equal to the Father, as touching His Godhead: and inferior to the Father as touching His Manhood.

(34) Who although He be God and Man; yet He is not two, but one Christ.

(35) One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh: but by assumption of the Manhood into God.

(36) One altogether; not by confusion of Substance: but by unity of Person.

(37) For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man: so God and Man is one Christ.

This defines the "*right Faith*" and it is summed up in the term *Incarnation* (29), as distinguished from the first part of the Creed which was defined as the *Catholic Faith* in the Holy Trinity. This *right Faith* presupposes a *wrong Faith*, and the conflict between the two which began with Apollinaris. The statements of the Creed are so framed as to exclude the Apollinarian heresies, but there is nothing in them that implies a knowledge of Nestorianism or Monophysitism. The two natures of Christ, the divine and the human, are carefully distinguished, but the interest of the Creed is to define the human nature, and to avoid any confusion of it with the divine, in the Apollinarian fashion. As to the divine nature, the Athanasian Creed simply adheres to the statement of the Constantinopolitan.

The statement begins with the general definition of the right Faith in the Incarnation.

"The right Faith is, that we believe and confess: that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man" (30). Christ is both divine and human in accordance with the Nicene Faith. The divine nature is now defined as "of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds" (31), both Nicene terms; "*perfect God*" (32), "*equal to* the Father" (33), which may be regarded as the equivalents of the Nicene: "*God of God*," "*Very God of Very God.*"

The definition of the *human nature* of Christ is, however, an advance upon the Constantinopolitan statements, as the human nature is brought into sharp antithesis with the divine in the several clauses: "Man, of the Substance of his Mother, born in the world" (31); "Perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting" (32).

These terms are not in the Constantinopolitan, and their doctrine only by implication in the terms: "Was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin Mary, and was made man." It was necessary to affirm over against Apollinaris that the substance of the human nature did not descend with the Logos from pre-existence in heaven, but was derived from the human mother; and that the human nature was perfect, having a "*reasonable soul*" as well as "human flesh," and not imperfect as Apollinaris would have it, without a "reasonable soul," whose place in human nature was taken by the pre-existing Logos.

It is significant just here that the technical term of the Nestorian controversy *Mother of God* is missing. It could hardly have been left out after the Nestorian controversy had been determined by the Council of Chalcedon, whose decision had undisputed œcumenical authority in the West, and was opposed only in the East.

The Creed now proceeds to assert the unity of the divine natures without confusion. In this section it approaches nearer to the Chalcedonian rejection of Eutychianism, but does not go beyond the Tome of Leo, and the doctrine of Augustine, which represented the Faith of the Church before the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies. The terms that are used are such as to reject these heresies implicitly, but not so explicitly as the formula of Chalcedon.

The unity of natures is thus expressed:

"Who although He be God and Man; yet He is not two, but one Christ" (34). "One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh: but by assumption of the Manhood into God" (35). "One altogether; not by confusion of Substance: but by unity of Person" (36). "For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man: so God and Man is one Christ" (37).

This is a simple assertion of the two natures in the one Christ, and that there is no confusion of the two substances by the union. The only term that appears here that is involved in the Nestorian and Eutychian controversy is "*non confusione*," which appears in the Chalcedonian formula as *inconfuse* (ἀσυγχύτως). The other technical terms, *immuta-*

biliter, indivise, inseparabiliter (ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως), do not appear, as would undoubtedly have been the case if the Creed had been composed after the Council of Chalcedon, because these three terms, much more than the one used, were the essential ones in the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies. The Monophysites, indeed, could have subscribed without hesitation to the Athanasian "not by confusion of substance." The confusion here thought of is that of Apollinaris, as the intermediate statement shows: "One not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh," because of the coming of the pre-existing heavenly man into human flesh, "but by assumption of the manhood into God." It is true that the latter statement is inconsistent with Nestorianism, as still more the use of the term *person* in this connection, "*by unity of person.*" On the other hand, the phrase "assumption of the manhood into God" (35) might be interpreted in favor of Monophysitism. We must, therefore, conclude that these statements of the Athanasian Creed were made without regard to the Nestorian and Monophysite controversies, but only to exclude the earlier errors as to the human nature of Christ. It is also noteworthy that the confusion here rejected is a confusion of *substance*, whereas the Monophysite controversy was, as in the Chalcedonian formula, confusion of *natures*.

The final clause of this section, in its comparison of the union of God and man in Christ to the union of rational soul and flesh in man, is open to a misin-

terpretation in a Nestorian direction. It would later have been regarded as incautious. The very language shows that it was directed against Apollinaris.

A critical examination of 30–37 makes it plain that these clauses were not influenced by the Chalcedonian Council, or by the Nestorian or Eutychian heresies; and these must thus have been composed in the fifth century, before 430.

The sections 38–40 were probably later additions to an original dogmatic treatise, to give it the character of a creed by making the Christology complete. These six clauses are based on the Apostles' Creed rather than the Nicene; only the Apostles' Creed in a form later than that of the fourth century, but earlier than that of the seventh century; and therefore intermediate between the two.

> (38) (Who suffered for our salvation): descended into hell: rose again the third day from the dead.
>
> (39) He ascended into heaven, He sitteth on the right hand of the Father.
>
> (40) From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

The first clause of (38) is different from any of the corresponding forms of the Nicene or Apostles' Creed. It is possible that it belonged to the original treatise as a qualification of the *one Christ*, but it is probable that it was a dogmatic seam. The second clause *descended into hell* was not in the Apostles' Creed of the fourth century, but it appeared already in Commentaries on the Creed of the fifth century (*v.* p. 125

seq.). The remaining clauses are essentially the same as those of the Apostles' Creed of the fourth century.

The clauses of the Apostles' Creed relating to the Holy Spirit and His work in the Holy Church, and the remission of sin, are not in the Athanasian Creed. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit is in the Trinitarian part of the Creed, and it was, therefore, difficult to mention His work here. The *resurrection*, and *eternal life*, of the Creeds are enlarged and attached to the work of Christ at His second advent.

(41) At whose coming all men have to rise with their bodies;
(42) And shall give account for their own works;
(43) And they that have done good, shall go into everlasting life; and they that have done evil, into everlasting fire.

(41) is simply the assertion of the universal resurrection with the use of *body* for the older *flesh;* but it is evident that this clause is only in order to the rewards and punishments of (42) and (43), based on a combination of the teaching of Jesus and of St. Paul. The spirit of these clauses is the same as that of the damnatory clauses; and as they immediately precede the final one, they probably belong together and were added at the same time. These damnatory clauses are at the beginning and the end, and at the division of the Creed into its two parts.

(1) Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith:
(2) Which Faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

(28) He therefore that will be saved, thus let him think of the Trinity.

(29) Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation, that he also believe faithfully the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

There can be but little doubt that (28) came from the same hand as (1) and (2); but (29) has some striking differences of phraseology, which make the same hand dubious.

It is possible that the original seam was simply: "Furthermore, it is necessary that he also believe faithfully the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ." This would be an appropriate seam, provided (1), (2), and (28) are regarded as later additions. The concluding clause is (44): "This is the Catholic Faith, which, except a man believe faithfully and firmly, he cannot be saved."

It is evident that this clause came from the same hand as (1) and (2). It is, however, striking that *fides catholica, the Catholic Faith*, the introductory term of the first part, should take the place of the *fides recta, Right Faith*, the introductory term of the second part; and to my mind this is an evidence of a later hand.

In general, we may say with reference to the damnatory clauses, that they do not go with theological treatises or baptismal creeds, but only with œcumenical definitions of the Faith over against dangerous heresies. This Athanasian Creed has neither of these characteristics. It seems probable that the damnatory clauses were added at a later time, when the Creed had come into general use as a

more complete dogmatic Creed than the Constantinopolitan.

The damnatory clauses are obnoxious to the modern mind largely because the doctrine of salvation is often conceived on too narrow lines, as connected with the beginning of the Christian life at baptism, by regeneration or justification, or else as salvation from hell. The *salvation*, conceived of in the Creed, is the *complete* salvation of one who is fully in accord with the Faith of the Church. It is quite true that no man can be completely and fully saved, who is condemned by his lack of conformity to the will of God, whether in his faith or in his conduct. He may be an immature Christian, needing forgiveness for errors and transgressions, and a rightful member of the Christian communion under discipline; but his salvation is only partial and incomplete until he is in entire accord with the will of God both in faith and conduct. As every one must give an account of his deeds before the judgment-seat of Christ, so every one must give an account of his faith; and he will be condemned for errors of faith no less than faults of conduct. But that judgment is at the close of the dispensation; and there is room for growth in knowledge and in grace, in faith and in conduct, prior to that event, in the intermediate State after death as well as in this world.

The average Christian, whether minister or layman, does not make these discriminations; and therefore the damnatory clauses are offensive, and should be removed from the Creed. If the Creed were reduced

to what seems to have been its original form, it would still be useful in the worship of the Church; for there is a remarkable grandeur and sublimity in it, when properly used. There is less reason to use in public worship the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed than the anathemas of the Nicene; for the Nicene Creed is an œcumenical conciliar Creed, the Athanasian a dogmatic Creed used in the West only on occasions.

CHAPTER VII

THE FAITH OF CHALCEDON

We have considered the work of the Councils of Nice and Constantinople in connection with the Nicene Constantinopolitan Creed. The Nicene Creed did not for some time win its way to universal acceptance in the Church. It was capable of misunderstandings and misinterpretations, especially in times of heated controversy and prejudiced opinion.[1] Many questions, not decided in the Creed, partly based on the Creed, and partly leading away from the Creed or against it, were agitating the minds of the theologians. The Nicene Faith eventually gained the victory, by overcoming not only the chief heresy of the Arians, but also all those minor ones to which the successors of the Arians betook themselves, as well as the survivals or revivals of Modalism in its various forms. This was accomplished, however, chiefly by a more careful and accurate definition of the technical terms of the Nicene Faith, and especially by the distinction in the Godhead of the three *hypostases*, or persons.[2]

The Council of Constantinople brought this phase of the conflict to an end, and the Athanasian Creed sums up in Western forms its chief results. Arianism

[1] *V.* p. 239.

[2] *V.* p. 240 *seq.*

was banished from the Roman Empire, took refuge among the barbarians, and gradually died out.

We have now to consider the Christological definitions of the four œcumenical Councils, beginning with Chalcedon. The three Councils, the second and third of Constantinople and the second of Nice, simply supplemented the Faith of Chalcedon, as the first Council of Constantinople did that of Nice. The Chalcedonian formula is to all intents and purposes the final Faith of the ancient Church. The Council of Chalcedon reaffirmed the Nicene Faith, both in the original form of the Nicene Creed, and in the later form of the Constantinopolitan, as the sufficient statement of the Faith of the Church. But it also had to determine other controversies and to make its own deliverance on the questions raised by them. The Council did not think that they were adding anything to the Nicene Faith. The questions that they determined had already been sufficiently decided implicitly in the Nicene Creed. It was only necessary to make these implications explicit, in order to rule out the heresies of the time, some of which claimed not to be inconsistent with the Nicene Creed.

We shall briefly review the controversies leading up to Chalcedon.

In April, 428, Nestorius was consecrated bishop of Constantinople. Soon after his accession he preached a series of sermons in which he objected to the term *Mother of God* (*Theotokos*), as applied to the Virgin Mary, and endeavored to distinguish between the man, Jesus, born of Mary, and the Son

of God united to him. It is not altogether clear what Nestorius really did hold and teach. Scholars are divided on the subject. It is probable that he was misunderstood, misrepresented, and unjustly treated, as is usually the case with founders of heresies. At the same time, he was in the pathway of error, and his statements logically imply the heresy that goes by his name, which undoubtedly was so serious that it was necessary for the Church to reject it. It seems that Nestorius did not deny the personality of the Word, or Son of God; but he distinguished too sharply between the two natures; and to say the least did not clearly recognize their unity in one person. This greatly excited the Church in all parts, especially in Alexandria and Rome; and the Pope, Cælestine, and Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, united in opposition. Undoubtedly ecclesiastical questions were involved in these controversies, as is usually the case; but these were due, not merely to the jealousies of the different patriarchates, but also to the maintenance of the ecclesiastical rights of jurisdiction of the apostolic sees over against the constant encroachment of the new patriarchate of Constantinople, whose only claim to this position was that Constantinople had become an imperial city. The institutional development of the Church goes on side by side and is intertwined with the doctrinal, and questions of Church order are just as truly matters of right and conscience as questions of doctrine.

Cyril wrote a letter to Nestorius in 429, remonstrating and urging him to restore peace by using the

term *theotokos;* to which Nestorius replied in an unsatisfactory manner. Cyril wrote a second letter in February, 430, in which he explained the right doctrine of the Incarnation, and asked Nestorius whether he held it and taught it. The sum of this letter is as follows:

> "The holy and great Synod therefore says, that the only begotten Son, born according to nature of God the Father, very God of very God, Light of Light, by whom the Father made all things, came down, and was incarnate, and was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven. These words and these decrees we ought to follow, considering what is meant by the Word of God being incarnate and made man. For we do not say that the nature of the Word was changed and became flesh, or that it was converted into a whole man consisting of soul and body; but rather that the Word, having personally united to Himself flesh animated by a rational soul, did in an ineffable and inconceivable manner become man, and was called the Son of Man, not merely as willing or being pleased to be so called, neither on account of taking to Himself a person, but because, the two natures being brought together in a true union, there is of both one Christ and one Son; for the difference of the natures is not taken away by the union, but rather the divinity and the humanity make perfect for us the one Lord Jesus Christ by their ineffable and inexpressible union. . . . We, therefore, confess one Christ and Lord, not as worshipping a man *with* the Word (lest this expression 'with the Word' should suggest to the mind the idea of division), but worshipping Him as one and the same, forasmuch as the body of the Word, with which He sits with the Father, is not separated from the Word Himself, not as if two Sons were sitting with Him, but one by the union with the flesh. If, however, we reject the personal union as impossible or unbecoming, we fall into the error of speaking of two Sons, for it will be necessary to distinguish, and to say, that He who was properly man was honored with the appellation of Son, and that He who is properly the Word of God has by nature both the name and the reality of Sonship. We must not, therefore, divide the one Lord Jesus

Christ into two Sons. Neither will it at all avail to a sound faith to hold, as some do, a union of persons; for the Scripture has not said that the Word united to Himself the person of man, but that He was made flesh.

"This expression, however, 'the Word was made flesh,' can mean nothing else but that He partook of flesh and blood like to us; He made our body His own, and came forth man from a woman, not casting off His existence as God, or His generation of God the Father, but even in taking to Himself flesh remaining what He was.

"This the declaration of the correct faith proclaims everywhere. This was the sentiment of the holy fathers; therefore they ventured to call the holy Virgin the Mother of God, not as if the nature of the Word or His divinity had its beginning from the holy Virgin, but because of her was born that holy body with a rational soul, to which the Word being personally united is said to be born according to the flesh." [1]

Nestorius' reply to this letter was still more unsatisfactory. Cyril then informed Pope Cælestine of the doctrine of Nestorius. This action of Cyril was strictly in accord with the fundamental principles of church discipline as laid down in the New Testament.[2]

A provincial council was then held in Rome, in August, which condemned Nestorius, giving him ten days in which to recant. This council committed the discipline of Nestorius to Cyril, who held a provincial council in Alexandria, which agreed to a third letter to Nestorius with twelve anathemas, which Nestorius was required to subscribe. It was sent to Constantinople, together with the letter of the Pope, in charge of four bishops, who thus took with them

[1] For translations *v. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series II, vol. XIV.

[2] Matt. 18^{15-17}.

the authority of these two great apostolical sees. The essential parts of the epistle are the following:

"Following in all points the confessions of the holy fathers which they made (the Holy Spirit speaking in them), and following the scope of their opinions, and going, as it were, in the royal way, we confess that the Only begotten Word of God, begotten of the same substance of the Father, True God from True God, Light from Light, through whom all things were made, the things in heaven and the things in the earth, coming down for our salvation, making Himself of no reputation, was incarnate and made man; that is, taking flesh of the holy Virgin, and having made it His own from the womb, He subjected Himself to birth for us, and came forth man from a woman, without casting off that which He was; but although He assumed flesh and blood, He remained what He was, God in essence and in truth. Neither do we say that His flesh was changed into the nature of divinity, nor that the ineffable nature of the Word of God was laid aside for the nature of flesh; for He is unchanged and absolutely unchangeable, being the same always, according to the Scriptures. For although visible and a child in swaddling-clothes, and even in the bosom of His Virgin Mother, He filled all creation as God, and was a fellow-ruler with Him who begat Him, for the Godhead is without quantity and dimension, and cannot have limits. Confessing the Word to be made one with the flesh according to substance, we adore one Son and Lord Jesus Christ: we do not divide the God from the Man, nor separate Him into parts, as though the two natures were mutually united in Him only through a sharing of dignity and authority (for that is a novelty and nothing else), neither do we give separately to the Word of God the name Christ and the same name separately to a different one born of a woman; but we know only one Christ, the Word from God the Father with His own flesh. For as man He was anointed with us, although it is He Himself who gives the Spirit to those who are worthy, and not in measure, according to the saying of the blessed Evangelist John.

"But we do not say that the Word of God dwelt in Him as in a common man born of the holy Virgin, lest Christ be thought of as a God-bearing man; for although the Word

tabernacled among us, it is also said that in Christ 'dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily'; but we understand that He became flesh, not just as He is said to dwell in the saints, but we define that that tabernacling in Him was according to equality. But being made one κατὰ φύσιν, and not converted into flesh, He made His indwelling in such a way as we may say that the soul of man does in his own body. . . . Besides, what the Gospels say our Saviour said of Himself, we do not divide between two hypostases, or persons. For neither is He, the one and only Christ, to be thought of as double, although of two and they diverse, yet He has joined them in an indivisible union, just as every one knows a man is not double, although made up of soul and body, but is one of both. . . .

"And since the holy Virgin brought forth corporally God made one with flesh according to nature, for this reason we also call her Mother of God, not as if the nature of the Word had the beginning of its existence from the flesh. For 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God, and the Word was with God,' and He is the Maker of the ages, coeternal with the Father, and Creator of all; but, as we have already said, since He united to Himself hypostatically human nature from her womb, also He subjected Himself to birth as man, not as needing necessarily in His own nature birth in time and in these last times of the world, but in order that He might bless the beginning of our existence, and that that which sent the earthly bodies of our whole race to death, might lose its power for the future by His being born of a woman in the flesh."

Nestorius would not yield; but instead issued twelve anathemas in response, to which he secured the support of John of Antioch, Andrew of Samosata, and others. These divines did not really agree with Nestorius, as subsequent events showed. But they looked upon the anathemas of Cyril with suspicion, as unguarded, and some of them as implying what was subsequently known as Monophysitism. They were undoubtedly influenced by ecclesiastical reasons also to resist the intrusion of Alexandria in a dicta-

torial way into the affairs of Constantinople, which had always been in close connection with the older apostolic see of Antioch, the mother see of Constantinople.

An œcumenical Council was assembled at Ephesus in June, 431, which approved Cyril's second letter, and condemned and deposed Nestorius. The action of this Council was precipitate. It refused to wait for the arrival of the Syrian bishops and the representatives of Rome, although they were expected in a few days. It is true these bishops were considerably behind the time appointed for the meeting of the Council, and it was well known what the attitude of Rome and of Antioch would be. At the same time, the action of the Council, though formally justifiable, was really hasty and inconsiderate of the rights of the minority, and so productive of mischief. When John of Antioch and other Eastern prelates arrived, they organized a separate council, and deposed Cyril and Memnon of Ephesus, not for heresy but for violation of conciliar rights. This brought on a bitter contest, which continued till 433, when John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria were reconciled, and Nestorius was rejected by all. The letter of Cyril to John of Antioch, which cemented the union, has semi-symbolical value.

The essential part is as follows:

> "We confess, therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and flesh consisting; begotten before the ages, of the Father according to His divinity, and in the last days, for us and for our salvation, of Mary the Virgin ac-

> cording to His humanity, of the same substance with His Father according to His divinity, and of the same substance with us according to His humanity; for there became a union of two natures. Wherefore we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord. According to this understanding of this unmixed union, we confess the holy Virgin to be Mother of God; because God the Word was incarnate and became Man, and from this conception He united the temple taken from her with Himself."

It is noteworthy that several phrases of this letter remind us of the Athanasian Creed; thus: "perfect man, of a reasonable soul and flesh," "of Mary the Virgin according to His humanity," "of the same substance with us according to His humanity," "unmixed union."

It is difficult to say whether there was any dependence upon the Athanasian Creed. The relation between Lerins and Antioch was not close. These clauses are directed against Apollinarianism, and the same situation would naturally produce similar terms. The rejection of Nestorianism is in the latter part of the statement with reference to the *theotokos*. The Athanasian Creed cannot depend upon this formula, for the anti-Nestorian part of it is not used.

The Nestorian heresy, which exaggerated the difference of the two natures of Christ, naturally brought about the antithetical heresy of underrating the difference. Eutyches, an archimandrite of Constantinople, was charged by Eusebius of Dorylæum, before a synod of Constantinople under the presidency of Bishop Flavian, in 448, with denying the reality of the human nature of Christ after the

incarnation. He admitted that there was a union of two natures, the divine and the human, in the incarnation; but he denied that these remained two after the incarnation, asserting that the two natures were united into one nature.

Eutyches was condemned by the Synod. He then appealed to Rome, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. The Bishop of Alexandria, Dioscurus, espoused his cause, and a council was held at Ephesus under the presidency of Dioscurus, in 449, which acted in such an unjust, tyrannical, and rude manner that it has ever since been known as the robber synod. Its authority was not recognized by the leading sees. It restored Eutyches and excommunicated Flavian of Constantinople and other representatives of orthodoxy.

Leo had sent his opinion by representatives in a document known as the *Tome*. This the council would not hear, and treated his representatives with disrespect and violence. This Tome has semi-symbolical authority. Its essential parts are the following:

> "Accordingly, the Son of God, descending from His seat in heaven, and not departing from the glory of the Father, enters this lower world, born after a new order, by a new mode of birth. After a new order; because He who in His own sphere is invisible, became visible in ours; He who could not be enclosed in space, willed to be enclosed; continuing to be before times, He began to exist in time; the Lord of the universe allowed His infinite majesty to be overshadowed, and took upon Him the form of a servant; the impassible God did not disdain to be passible Man, and the immortal One to be subjected to the laws of death. And born by a new mode of birth; because inviolate virgin-

ity, while ignorant of concupiscence, supplied the matter of His flesh. What was assumed from the Lord's Mother was nature, not fault; nor does the wondrousness of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, as born of a Virgin's womb, imply that His nature is unlike ours. For the self-same who is very God, is also very man; and there is no illusion in this union, while the lowliness of man and the loftiness of Godhead meet together. For as 'God' is not changed by the compassion [exhibited], so 'Man' is not consumed by the dignity [bestowed]. For each 'form' does the acts which belong to it, in communion with the other; the Word, that is, performing what belongs to the Word, and the flesh carrying out what belongs to the flesh; the one of these shines out in miracles, the other succumbs to injuries. And as the Word does not withdraw from equality with the Father in glory, so the flesh does not abandon the nature of our kind. For, as we must often be saying, He is one and the same, truly Son of God, and truly Son of Man. God, inasmuch as 'in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.' Man, inasmuch as 'the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.' God, inasmuch as 'all things were made by Him, and without Him nothing was made.' Man, inasmuch as He was 'made of a woman, made under the law.' The nativity of the flesh is a manifestation of human nature; the Virgin's child-bearing is an indication of divine power. The infancy of the Babe is exhibited by the humiliation of swaddling-clothes: the greatness of the Highest is declared by the voices of angels. He whom Herod impiously designs to slay is like humanity in its beginnings; but He whom the Magi rejoice to adore on their knees is Lord of all. . . .

"But after the resurrection of the Lord, . . . what else was accomplished during that interval of forty days than to make our faith entire and clear of all darkness? For, while He conversed with His disciples, and dwelt with them, and ate with them, and allowed Himself to be handled with careful and inquisitive touch by those who were under the influence of doubt, for this end He came in to the disciples when the doors were shut, and by His breath gave them the Holy Spirit, and opened the secrets of Holy Scripture after bestowing on them the light of intelligence, and again in His selfsame person showed to them the wound in the side, the prints of the nails, and all the fresh tokens of the Passion, saying: 'Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I

Myself; handle Me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have': that the properties of the divine and the human natures might be acknowledged to remain in Him without causing a division, and that we might in such sort know that the Word is not what the flesh is, as to confess that the one Son of God is both Word and flesh. On which mystery of the faith this Eutyches must be regarded as unhappily having no hold, who does not recognize our nature to exist in the Only-begotten Son of God, either by way of the lowliness of mortality or of the glory of resurrection. . . . But when Eutyches, on being questioned in your examination of him, answered, 'I confess that our Lord was of two natures before the union, but after the union I confess one nature'; I am astonished that so absurd and perverse a profession as this of his was not rebuked by a censure on the part of any of his judges, and that an utterance extremely foolish and extremely blasphemous was passed over, just as if nothing had been heard which could give offence: seeing that it is as impious to say that the Only-begotten Son of God was of two natures before the incarnation as it is shocking to affirm that, since the Word became flesh, there has been in Him one nature only."

The death of the Emperor Theodosius in 450 brought a change of policy. Another council was called, which met at Chalcedon in 451. This Council condemned Eutyches and Dioscurus, subscribed the Tome of Leo, the second letter of Cyril to Nestorius, and his letter to John of Antioch. It then issued its own Definition of Faith, as follows:

[The Synod] "opposes those who would rend the mystery of the dispensation into a duad of Sons; it repels from the sacred assembly those who dare to say that the Godhead of the Only Begotten is capable of suffering; it resists those who imagine a mixture or confusion of the two natures of Christ; it drives away those who fancy His form of a servant is of an heavenly or some substance other than that which was taken of us; and it anathematizes those who foolishly talk of two natures of our Lord before the union, conceiving that after the union there was only one. Following

> the holy fathers we teach with one voice that the Son [of God] and our Lord Jesus Christ is to be confessed as one and the same [Person], that He is perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, very God and very man, of a reasonable soul and [human] body consisting, consubstantial with the Father as touching His Godhead, and consubstantial with us as touching His manhood; made in all things like unto us, sin only excepted; begotten of His Father before the worlds according to His Godhead; but in these last days for us men and for our salvation born [into the world] of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God according to His manhood. This one and the same Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son [of God] must be confessed to be in two natures, unconfusedly, immutably, indivisibly, inseparably [united], and that without the distinction of natures being taken away by such union, but rather the peculiar property of each nature being preserved and being united in One Person and hypostasis, not separated or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-Begotten, God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, as the prophets of old time have spoken concerning Him, and as the Lord Jesus Christ hath taught us, and as the Creed of the fathers hath delivered to us."

Nestorianism and Eutychianism are explicitly refuted.

Nestorianism so emphasized the difference of the two natures as to make the unity an ethical one of two different persons. Eutychianism so emphasized the unity of nature as to do away with the two natures after the Incarnation. It makes them only one nature, containing human and divine attributes and characteristics. Hence the Chalcedonian formula insists, over against the one, that the one Hypostasis, the divine Christ, was born of the Virgin, and not merely that the human nature of Christ was thus born; and that the two natures were indivisibly and inseparably united in the one Christ. It insists over

against Eutychianism that the human nature remained after the union distinct from the divine nature, inconfused and unchangeable; "the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the properties of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one person and one *hypostasis*."

Many questions remained still undetermined at Chalcedon.

There were few who held to Nestorianism as condemned by the Council; but the great mass of Christians of Eastern Syria and Persia held that Nestorius and their great teachers were unjustly treated. All these were alike driven from the Roman Empire. They sought refuge in Persia, where they rallied around their school at Nisibis and continued as a separate Christian Church until the present time.

The Monophysites continued to disturb the Church for a long time; and subsequently divided into many warring parties. These Monophysites did not agree with the extravagances of Eutyches which were rejected by the definition of Chalcedon. They were rather like the Semi-Arians in their attitude toward the Nicene Faith. Many of them were willing to accept the Chalcedonian formula, if they could interpret it in their own way; but they were not willing to accept the interpretation of their opponents, whom they regarded as reacting toward Nestorianism. Their difficulties were not removed for a long time. No great theologian arose in the East, who could appreciate their difficulties and remove them, until

Leontius of Byzantium. Rather the intrusion of civil and ecclesiastical politics enhanced the differences, and made them irreconcilable.

The fundamental question in dispute was as to the real meaning of the Chalcedonian formula. There is a variation of reading, whether *of* two natures or *in* two natures.

The present Greek text reads the former; all Latin translations, *in duabus naturis*, but with editorial recognition of variation. There is a difference among scholars as to which is the original. Baur and Dorner are the chief among those who think the former original, and it seems to me they are correct. It agrees better with the context, especially with the verb γνωρίζειν. It is also favored by the well-known principle of Criticism, that it is the more difficult reading—sufficiently clear in the context as rejecting Monophysitism, but which apart from the context might be interpreted in its favor. There was no sufficient reason to change ἐν into ἐκ; but there was a strong reason for changing ἐκ into ἐν, in order to deprive the Monophysites of a seeming support to their views. Gieseler, Neander, Hefele, and Schaff are the chiefs of a majority of scholars who favor an original ἐν, on the ground that the change to ἐκ was made in the interest of the Monophysites. But this seems improbable in view of the constant conflict with them from the Council of Chalcedon until their final separation from the Church. This might account for the insertion of ἐκ in some forms of the formula, but not in the

official texts recognized by the Greek Church as valid. The several parties would have watched over this terminology with the greatest care. The difference is really only one between the Greek original and the Latin translation.

The symbol does not say *one* nature from *two* natures, but *one and the same Christ from two natures*, and this is essentially the same as *in two natures*. The unity of Christ and the two distinct natures are taught equally in both cases.

The difficulty to the Monophysites was that the Unity did not seem to be sufficiently recognized by their opponents. The Monophysites did not, in fact, take any position contrary to the distinction of natures, "inconfusedly" and "unchangeably." They rather emphasized "indivisibly" and "inseparably." They recognized the distinction, and yet emphasized the unity. They could agree to the union of two natures in "*one and the same Christ*"; and it might have been wiser if the council had not in its subsequent clause asserted that the unity was in the *one hypostasis*. They did not object to the one person, they maintained it vigorously against the Nestorians, but they thought the unity was something more than hypostatic; and so indeed it was (*v.* p. 288 *seq.*).

If the contests of the theologians had continued within the Church, distinctions made later by Leontius of Byzantium and John of Damascus might have reconciled the Monophysites to the Chalcedonian formula: for both the Greeks and the Latins were

compelled to reckon with certain differences between the human nature of Christ and the human nature of other men, due to the union of the human nature with the divine in the one and the same Christ. In fact, after the distinctions made by Leontius, Monophysitism was overcome in the Greek Church and has never troubled the Greeks since. It found refuge outside the Greek empire, just as at an early date Arianism found refuge outside the Roman Empire. If these countries of the Monophysites had not remained under the Moslem rule, but had again become Christian governments, it is altogether probable that Monophysitism would have died out as Arianism before it. At all events, it practically disappeared; for there has not been, since the Council of Florence, any Christological reason for the separation from the Greek and Roman Churches of these Churches which in the early centuries separated because of Monophysitism.

It was agreed by orthodox theologians that the human nature of Christ must have some special qualities because of the union.

(1) The human nature was not that of an individual man united to the Logos, which would be Nestorianism. It was that of a man who gained his individuality first by union with the Logos, who assumed human nature, not the nature of an individual (*v.* p. 289 *seq.*).

(2) It was agreed by all that Christ was without sin whether original or actual, and that He was from birth innocent and His life perfect in holiness. He

was in the likeness of sinful flesh, but His flesh was not sinful (*v.* p. 72).

(3) So Cyril in his letters to Nestorius represents other distinguishing features of the human nature of Christ. Thus he says:

"For He is the Life according to His nature as God, and when He became united to His flesh, He made it also to be Life-giving, as also He said to us: 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood.' For we must not think that it is flesh of a man like us (for how can the flesh of man be life-giving by its own nature?) but as having become truly the very own of Him who for us both became and was called Son of Man."

Thus originally, at the incarnation, His flesh was life-giving, and so different from all other human flesh. The flesh of Christ had life in itself derived from its union with the Logos. Accordingly Christ had authority over His own life. He was not subject to death; His death was entirely voluntary (*v.* p. 70 *seq.*).

(4) So in the Tome of Leo it is said:

"What was assumed from the Lord's Mother was nature, not fault; nor does the wondrousness of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, as born of a Virgin's womb, imply that His nature is unlike ours."

The Church did not hold, nor does the New Testament teach, that the human nature was like that of the ordinary man in all respects. It was the integrity and completeness of Christ's human nature that the Church stood for, not that His nature had not

its own special characteristics as suitable for union with the divine nature. His nature was normal and not abnormal, having completeness as the ideal of humanity, not according to the reality of fallen humanity.

(5) There were controversies among the Monophysites as to whether the human nature of Christ had other special qualities, such as whether Christ's human mind was limited in knowledge, or was a sharer in the complete and perfect knowledge of the divine mind. The debate raged especially about the words of Christ. "But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" (Mark 13^{32}).

Was this saying exactly true, or only economically true? that is, true relatively to its communication to others, not true in itself. This question is in debate in modern theology, and is involved in Kenotic theories and discussions.

(6) Were the miracles of Christ wrought by His omnipotence as God, or by virtue of His prophetic possession of the divine Spirit as Man?

As to these last two questions, it is noteworthy that the prevalent tradition of the Church is, that the knowledge and miracle-working of Christ are to be attached to the unity of Christ's person, and not to the human nature, or to be distributed between the natures. Thus Cyril says: "All the words which are read in the Gospels are to be applied to One Person, to One Hypostasis of the Word Incarnate." And Leo says: "To hunger, to thirst, to be weary,

and to sleep, is evidently human. But to satisfy five thousand men with five loaves, and give to the Samaritan woman that living water, to draw which can secure him that drinks of it from ever thirsting again; to walk on the surface of the sea with feet that sink not, and by rebuking the storm to bring down the 'uplifted waves,' is unquestionably divine."

(7) As to His body, was it incorruptible or corruptible? The Monophysites raised this question, and divided upon it into Severians and Julianists, the latter insisting upon the incorruptibility of the flesh of Christ as well as its life-giving property, in accordance with II Tim. 1[10]. This, indeed, seems to be logically involved in the life-giving property taught by Cyril in his letter to Nestorius, which has semi-symbolical character, although the weight of theological opinion is against it.[1]

(8) There are other difficulties to the modern mind, that were not felt by the ancients. It would seem that the ancient controversies dealt too little with the ethical and too much with the physical.[2]

They left little room for intellectual and moral growth in the human nature of Christ, but only for physical growth.[3] The chief difficulty with the Chalcedonian decision, one that was deeply felt in ancient times and is at present regarded as most serious, is the seeming limitation of the unity to the hypostasis, or person, of the Logos. There is certainly an am-

[1] *V.* p. 303. [2] *V.* Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, p. 364.

[3] This is best explained by the theory of a gradual incarnation, advocated especially by Dorner, *Glaubenslehre*, II, s. 286; *v.* Briggs, *Incarnation of the Lord*, pp. 122 *seq.*

biguity in the use of the term *person*, which is disturbing; for *person* as used in connection with the distinctions of the Holy Trinity has a different meaning from *person* as used in the Chalcedonian formula as the point of unity of the human and divine natures of Christ. The latter is certainly something more than the hypostasis of the Second Person of the Trinity, which did not include individuality. Individuality can be predicated of the one God only, not of the three Trinitarian Hypostases. How much more the personality that united the natures was than the hypostasis of the Logos, has not, however, been defined by the Church. As Dorner shows, the Chalcedonian formula does not deny human personality to the Man Jesus. It simply denies that there is a human personality separate and distinct from the hypostasis of the Second Person of the Trinity, and asserts the unity as in the one person of Christ.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FINAL CHRISTOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS

The decree of Chalcedon did not solve all of the difficulties of the two natures of Christ, and therefore did not satisfy all sections of the Christian Church. It left the union of the two natures depending on the slender thread of the one hypostasis, or person, of the Son of God. The Monophysites recognized that the Son of God was composed of two originally separate natures; but when these were united at the incarnation, their product was a divino-human nature, in which all the properties of both were combined in union but without mixture. This raised many difficulties. If the substance of the Son became one with the nature of the man, it involved a union not only with the hypostasis of the Second Person of the Trinity, but also with the substance of the Godhead. The doctrine of the unity of God as separate and apart from the creature was thus threatened. Patripassianism was revived, as in Theopaschitism, which insisted on the formula "God crucified." This, if interpreted of the person of Christ as God, is correct, but if interpreted of the divine nature of Christ, is heretical. On the other hand, the redemption of mankind seemed to depend on the union of humanity in some way with divine nature. If the union of the human with the divine

is only in the hypostasis of the Second Person of the Trinity, there seems to be nothing but an external juxtaposition and no real union of natures at all, and so the doctrine of salvation is imperilled.

The Eucharist enshrines the doctrine that the body of Christ there enjoyed is not only the human Christ but also the divine. There seemed to be a conflict between the Creed of the Church and her Liturgy, between her Faith and her Worship.

The most serious of the objections of the Monophysites were removed by the explanation of Leontius of Byzantium (485–543), who makes the important statement that the human nature of Christ was not without an hypostasis, or personality, but that it was *enhypostatized in the Logos*, received its hypostasis, or personality, in the Logos, by union with the Second Person of the Trinity. The human nature had no personality in itself as derived from Mary; but it received its personality when it was united to the divine nature by the hypostasis of the Second Person of the Trinity. Later this became still clearer in the doctrine of John of Damascus, that the union of natures was in a *composite personality*. Thus the hypostasis of the Second Person of the Trinity, which has no individuality, imparts personality to the human nature which He assumed, and so becomes a composite person, a divine hypostasis and an individual God-man.[1]

The difficulty involved in such an entire separation of natures as seemed to the Monophysites to be im-

[1] *V.* Briggs, *Incarnation*, p. 201.

plied in the Chalcedonian formula, was overcome by the doctrine of exchange, or communication of properties, of the one nature to the other.

From the very nature of the case this communication is on the divine side, and not on the human. This communication of properties of the divine nature to the human nature of Christ, while it refers chiefly to His state of exaltation, and especially to the eucharistic presence, also refers in part to the state of humiliation and explains those special characteristics of the human nature of Christ upon which the Monophysites insisted, and which seem to be based on the New Testament.

Another term was also useful, especially in John of Damascus, namely, περιχώρησις, which, as interpreted, represents that the divine nature of Christ interpenetrated and pervaded the human nature. They were not merely in external juxtaposition. On the other hand, this exchange of attributes and interpenetration of natures threaten confusion of the two natures of Christ, and tend in the direction of Monophysitism, especially if referred to the act of incarnation. This certainly was not designed by Leontius, or John of Damascus, who maintained the Chalcedonian formula, and who sufficiently guarded themselves from the peril of Monophysitism. They were explaining the Chalcedonian doctrine, and not changing or nullifying it. The Chalcedonian formula is not responsible for their doctrinal explanations, but it is not inconsistent with them; and the doctors of the Church, East and West, have regarded

their explanations as normal and correct. It is altogether probable that if the Monophysites had remained in the Roman Empire they would have been reconciled by these explanations, which gained a semi-official character.

The communication of divine attributes to the human nature of Christ is not confined to the soul. The human body of our Lord, like the human soul, shares in the communication of divine attributes. The Christian Church is not responsible for this doctrine in her symbolical statements; but the theologians of the Greek and Latin Churches have always maintained it as the proper explanation of the Chalcedonian formula and the Nicene Faith of the Church. The Lutheran scholastic theologians pressed this doctrine to an extreme which urged the Reformed theologians to avoid it, or regard it as more nominal than real. However, we may regard it as a theological, if not a symbolical, consensus of the Church.

The divine nature of the Son of God, through its union with the human nature in one personality, communicated to the human nature such qualities and attributes as it was capable of receiving. The human nature of Jesus, as a perfect human nature, had not those defects and obstructions to the divine influence that exist in ordinary human nature. Its capacity was the greatest possible, and there were no hindrances whatever except the limitations existing in human nature itself.

There were, however, extreme positions taken by

some of the Monophysites, that could not be reconciled with the formula of Chalcedon. And there are still difficult questions, where the explanations of Leontius and John of Damascus increase rather than decrease the difficulties. If the human mind is conceived as sharing in omniscience from birth, as many scholastic divines maintain, it does not differ except in name from the divine mind. If the human will is entirely subjected to the divine will, as they teach, it is absorbed and confused in it, to all intents and purposes. If omnipotence is attributed to the Infant Jesus, He is practically divine. Mediæval scholasticism, notwithstanding its hair-splitting distinctions, in which it insists upon the Chalcedonian orthodoxy of a distinct and separate human nature in Christ, unconfused and unmixed with the divine, yet does seem, at times, in fact to confuse their activities.

Thus, many problems have not yet been solved; many have been given unsatisfactory solutions by the doctors of the Church. Still others have received scant attention. Too much attention relatively has been given to the act of incarnation and too little to the incarnate relations in the human life of our Lord as a continuous and personal experience, best explained, as I think, by the doctrine of a gradual incarnation.

The ancient discussions were too much in the elaboration of the ideas of Sonship and generation with the eternal generation and the Virgin Birth. The Logos relation, which played such an important part in the Ante-Nicene Church, was not sufficiently considered in the Church after Chalcedon. The various

other conceptions of the Incarnation in the teaching of St. Paul were little used. Moderns are using, and indeed exaggerating, that of the Kenosis. The whole doctrine requires a comprehensive study of all these relations. The terms used at Chalcedon were the best for the time, but were still susceptible to misinterpretation. The term *οὐσία* was determined by the Nicene Creed as appropriate for the One Being of God; and *ὑπόστασις* later for the distinctions in the Godhead. The term *φύσις* was used for human nature, but was not suitable for the product of the union of the divine *οὐσία* with the human *φύσις*. Furthermore, the term *ὑπόστασις* was not suitable for the union of the two, the composite personality. The Council of Chalcedon went as far as it was deemed wise and safe to go in the rejecting the heresy of Nestorianism on the one hand, and Eutychianism on the other. All else is open to question and debate; and the Church as a whole is not responsible for any of the doctrinal explanations of the theologians, however profound and satisfying they may be.

The consensus of opinion in the Greek and Latin Churches is in accord with the explanation of Leontius and John of Damascus; but variations of opinion have persisted. The theologians of the Lutheran Church agree essentially with the Roman and Greek in this respect. But those of the Reformed Churches prefer the simpler statements of the Chalcedonian formula.

The controversy with the Monophysites pursued its weary way for several centuries, from the Council

of Chalcedon on till the sixth œcumenical Council at Constantinople in 680, when it was finally overcome in the Greek Church.

In 482, the Emperor Zeno, under the advice of Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, issued his *Henoticon*, which reduced the questions at issue to a minimum, and sought for a general formula to reconcile the Monophysites. It reaffirmed the rejection of Nestorius and Eutyches, condemned those who divide or confuse the two natures, and affirmed the entire oneness of Christ without using either hypostasis or nature. But it then goes on to anathematize all who think otherwise, "whether at Chalcedon or any other Synod whatever." Thus it reaffirms the doctrine of Chalcedon, but discredits the Council. This was evidently unfair and a dishonorable yielding to partisan prejudices. The *Henoticon* was accepted by the patriarch of Alexandria; but he did not succeed in the reconciliation of the Egyptian Monophysites. It was accepted by the Armenians, and gained symbolical authority in that section which separated from the Greek Empire under the Persian rule. The Church in Armenia remains independent under its own patriarch until the present time.

The *Henoticon* gained partial acceptance in other parts of the East, only apparently in Constantinople itself. Even Rome could not accept it; for it discredited the Council of Chalcedon and that was to discredit Rome herself, who especially prided herself upon her pre-eminence there both in doctrine

and in authority. And so the *Henoticon* did not relieve the situation, but made it still more difficult.

The Emperor Justinian (527–565) also endeavored to reconcile the Monophysites. At first he adopted severe measures against them, but afterward tried milder ones. He arranged a conference between the Chalcedonian and Monophysite bishops, but could not accomplish anything. He then gave his approval to the Monophysite watchword, "*God was crucified*," which might be orthodox or not, according as it was explained.[1] He also favored the *Aphthardocetæ*,[2] who also could not be regarded as inconsistent with Chalcedon. Chalcedonian divines had opposed both of these; but they had no call to do so, as far as the formula of Chalcedon itself was concerned. The chief measure of Justinian was, however, the condemnation by edict of the "Three Chapters," that is, the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, of Theodoret against Cyril, and of Ibas to Maris. This action was urged by Theodorus of Cæsarea as the best way of reconciling the Monophysites. The three divines thus condemned were regarded by the Monophysites as really Nestorians. Theodore's writings were not approved by the Chalcedonian Council; and those of Theodoret and Ibas were not disapproved, though both these divines, with John of Antioch, had been hostile to Cyril for a while. But they were reconciled before Chalcedon, and had agreed to the Chalcedonian formula. The rejection of these

[1] *V.* p. 307.

[2] *V.* p. 305.

eminent divines, long since dead, like a similar rejection of Origen, was the culmination of bigotry and folly, and could only result in increasing the hostility of the so-called Nestorians to the Greek Church without improving relations with the Monophysites.

Rome hesitated, not that she approved of these divines, but for fear that their condemnation was another attempt to discredit the Council of Chalcedon. But finally, when the fifth œcumenical Council of Constantinople condemned them, Rome assented. But this action did not succeed with the Monophysites any more than the others.

The most of the Egyptians, separated from the Greek patriarch of Alexandria, chose their own patriarch, and, under the name of Copts, remain separate till the present day. They associated themselves with the Ethiopian Church, which had always been loosely attached to the Church of the Roman Empire.

Another attempt to reconcile the Monophysites was made by the Emperor Heraclius, under the advice of Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople. This was to be accomplished by the assertion that the two natures were united in one will, or energy. Sergius received the support of Honorius of Rome, who did not regard the question as important. He was not opposed either to one energy or two. He regarded the question as trifling, and fit only for grammarians. He was, however, willing to say: "We confess one will of our Lord Jesus Christ." But there

was great opposition to this doctrine all over the East and West. Finally Heraclius, in the interest of peace, issued an edict in 638, composed by Sergius, called the *Ecthesis*, or *Exposition of the Faith*, prohibiting the use of the expressions *one* or *two* operations. He thought he had the support of Rome. But another Pope had taken the place of Honorius, who repudiated the *Ecthesis;* and he was followed generally throughout the Church, partly because the doctrine of a single will seemed another attempt to undermine the Faith of Chalcedon, and partly because of resentment of imperial authority in matters of Faith. The Emperor Constans II tried to enforce the decree of his predecessor by a decree called the *Typos*, in 648, enjoining silence as to the matter in dispute. But the Pope the more determinedly opposed it. Pope Martin I, in a synod at the Lateran (649), anathematized the doctrine of one will as inconsistent with Chalcedon, and condemned both the *Ecthesis* and the *Typos*. The controversy continued until the reign of Constantine Pogonatus, who invited Pope Agatho to give his judgment on the doctrine, which he did in an official letter, communicated to the sixth œcumenical Council of Constantinople (680), which decided for two wills. It also condemned Honorius as a heretic. This is the decision: "For as His flesh is called, and is, the flesh of God the Word; so also the natural will of His flesh is called, and is, the proper will of God the Word. . . . For as His most holy and immaculate animated flesh was not destroyed because it was deified, but continued in

its own state and nature; so also His human will, although deified, was not suppressed."

There has been a hot discussion between Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Old Catholic scholars with reference to the heresy of Honorius, especially in view of the dogma of papal infallibility defined by the Vatican Council in 1870. There can be no doubt that Pope Honorius was condemned by the œcumenical Council for heresy. There can be no doubt that his heresy was contained in an official letter in response to an appeal that he would decide the controversy. There can be no doubt that he gave an heretical judgment. However, he wrote with an irenic purpose, and decided a question not yet defined by the Church. He gave an official opinion on the controversy; he did not *define* a doctrine, and his definition was not *ex cathedra* and therefore does not conflict with the Vatican definition of papal infallibility. It is to be classed with similar doctrinal opinions in various bulls, and syllabi of errors, issued by the Popes at various times in rejection of errors, but not in definition of doctrine.

The question whether Christ has two wills or one depends upon the question whether the will is to be attached to the person or to the nature; if to the former, there can be but one will, if to the latter two. The definition of the Council is based on the psychological opinion that the wills go with the natures, and are, therefore, two.

These questions of detail as to the two natures of Christ in the unity of His person are difficult. It

cannot be said that they all have been solved. They depend upon various psychological opinions, about which modern philosophy has much to say.

It was recognized even by Apollinaris that Christ had an animal soul, the seat of the affections and passions. The question in debate with him was as to the *νοῦς*, the intelligence. The question of a single or double consciousness has recently come into debate, especially in view of a modern psychological distinction of the subconscious state from the conscious state. The modern discussion as to what personality really is has much to do with the question under consideration. But all these and a multitude of others are open questions, as indeed many of those discussed in the Monophysite controversies, so far as they do not involve a departure from the fundamental Creeds of the Church. The statements of these Creeds are simple, excluding only the most dangerous errors, and in their positive language departing but slightly from the explicit statements of Scripture, and then only in defining their implicit teaching. Furthermore, they are in terms of ancient philosophy and psychology. They do not at all stand in the way of a reinvestigation of all of these problems by modern thought, or of restatements in terms of modern psychology and philosophy.

Since the Reformation, and especially in recent times, the discussions have been rather as to the mode of the incarnation, especially by Kenosis, and its results. This point of view is rather different from that which insists on the integrity of the two

natures after the incarnation; and is favored by the fact that it is that of St. Paul the Apostle, and has much Biblical evidence which may be used with advantage.

There are many open questions in Christology, where there is room for much difference of opinion; but all the decisions of the ancient Church, adopted by the Greek, Roman Catholic, and Protestant Churches, are closed questions so far as those Churches are concerned. They are only open among Unitarians, Hicksite Quakers, and other similar religious bodies. Denials of the formula of Chalcedon are tolerated in some of the State Churches of Protestant Europe, but only in those where the Church is not in possession of its full governmental and disciplinary powers.

The Nicene Creed is now, as it ever has been, a sufficient statement of the Christian Faith. But if one questions it, or interprets it in the direction of the ancient heresies, excluded by the definitions of the œcumenical Councils, he cannot be said to hold to the Nicene Creed in the sense in which the Church interprets it, that which has always been regarded by the Church as the only legitimate meaning.

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